

# **West African Novels in Finnish Translation: Strategies for Africanised English**

Anne-Marie Lindfors

Department of Modern Languages

University of Helsinki

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission of  
the Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki in auditorium XII,  
on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February, 2015 at 10 o'clock.

© Anne-Marie Lindfors 2015  
ISBN 978-951-51-0571-4 (paperback)  
ISBN 978-951-51-0572-1 (PDF)  
Unigrafia  
Helsinki 2015

"At its best, translation may function less as a bridge than as a labyrinth that leads to a final point of comprehension that may not conform to the land that the reader was expecting."  
(Zare & Iyer 2009: xxxi)

## Abstract

This study investigates the translation of anglophone West African novels in Finland. It addresses the question of what happens to the linguistic and cultural hybridity present in the source texts when these are translated into Finnish. Anglophone West African novels often contain words borrowed from local African languages as well as unfamiliar cultural features and nonstandard language varieties, which can be called africanised English. The writers of these texts bend the language of the ex-colonisers to add local colour to their texts and to make the language better express local life. In addition, the use of africanised English may aim at weakening the hegemonic position of English, dismantling the colonial structures in the former colonies and changing the old stereotypes about Africa, i.e. it may have political and ideological functions.

Thus far, fifteen anglophone West African novels have been translated into Finnish. The material of the study consists of twelve of these, nine from Nigeria and three from Ghana, and their translations into Finnish. The selected novels were written by nine authors, translated by nine different translators and published in Finland between 1963 and 2010. My hypothesis was that africanised English in hybrid West African novels has been normalised at least to a certain extent in the target texts, as there are no corresponding language varieties in Finnish, and also because the normalisation of linguistic and cultural difference is a general trend in translation practice.

The linguistic and cultural details of African source texts and the translation of these features into Finnish have not received much attention in Finland before this study. The method of analysis was descriptive and comparative. I first studied what authorial techniques anglophone West African writers used to africanise their texts, after which pairs of target-text solutions and source-text problems were extracted and the translation relationships between them described. The texts were analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively, with a view to discovering general patterns in the relationships which would make it possible to establish the concepts of translation and to speculate on the nature of the norms that have governed the translating of the texts.

The period of 47 years covered by my material was expected to make it possible to detect changes that may have taken place in Finnish translation practice and norms. Contrary to my expectation, the results of the analysis show that the translators of the twelve texts were inclined to retain the hybridity present in the source texts (foreignisation), but it was also observed that more recent target texts showed a trend towards less marked renderings (domestication). Both translation approaches have their problems: foreignised target texts may be considered uninteresting and even incomprehensible by target readers, while domesticated translations may affect the functions of the postcolonial source texts by maintaining the prevailing attitudes towards Africa that circulate in the target culture.

## Contents

<b>List of tables .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Abbreviations.....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>10</b>
1.1 Historical and linguistic background.....	10
1.2 The scope and method of the study .....	17
1.3 A short history of Ghana and Nigeria.....	20
<b>2. Western images of Africa.....</b>	<b>22</b>
2.1 Colonialist discourse and the primitive .....	22
2.2 The portrayal of Africa in Finland.....	27
2.2.1 Representations of Africa for Finnish children .....	27
2.2.2 Finnish travel writing about Africa .....	31
2.2.3 Colonialist novels and Finland .....	35
<b>3. The West African novel and the English language.....</b>	<b>44</b>
3.1 The West African novel.....	44
3.2 The English language and African experience .....	46
3.3 Authorial techniques for africanising English.....	49
3.3.1 Insertion of words from African languages.....	51
3.3.2 Relexification .....	54
3.3.3 Pidginisation .....	55
3.3.4 Igbo English as an example of africanisation .....	59
3.4 The West African novels selected for this study .....	65
<b>4. Translation and postcolonial texts.....</b>	<b>87</b>
4.1 Translation strategies and norms .....	87
4.2 Postcolonial translation studies .....	100
4.3 Cultural translation .....	107
<b>5. The translation of africanised English into Finnish.....</b>	<b>118</b>
5.1 Qualitative analysis of the translation strategies used for africanised elements by Finnish translators .....	119
5.1.1 Borrowings .....	119

5.1.2 Translation equivalents.....	125
5.1.3 Neologisms .....	130
5.1.4 Pidgin.....	134
5.2 Quantitative analysis of the translation strategies used for africanised elements by Finnish translators .....	142
5.3 Discussion.....	162
<b>6. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>180</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>184</b>
Primary sources .....	184
Secondary sources .....	185
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>196</b>
<b>Appendix 1.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of PWD and their renderings in target text PVJ (1963).....	196
<b>Appendix 2.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of MOP and their renderings in target text KM (1969).....	198
<b>Appendix 3.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of FRA and their renderings in target text PIR (1971) .....	202
<b>Appendix 4.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of SOA and their renderings in target text LK (1976) .....	203
<b>Appendix 5.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of WHY and their renderings in target text MM (1979) .....	204
<b>Appendix 6.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of INT and their renderings in target text TUL (1980).....	205
<b>Appendix 7.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of JOM and their renderings in target text NET (1989).....	207
<b>Appendix 8.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of EFU-S and their renderings in target text EFU-T (1989) .....	209
<b>Appendix 9.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of DL and their renderings in target text VR (1996).....	212
<b>Appendix 10.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of CHA and their renderings in target text MU (2002) .....	213
<b>Appendix 11.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of HALF and their renderings in target text PKA (2009) .....	214
<b>Appendix 12.</b> Africanised elements in first 30 pages of PHIB and their renderings in target text PURP (2010) .....	216

## List of tables

Table 1. Translation strategies used for the translation of africanised English into Finnish	112
Table 2. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of PVJ (1963) for africanised elements in PWD	145
Table 3. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of KM (1969) for africanised elements in MOP	147
Table 4. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of PIR (1971) for africanised elements in FRA	149
Table 5. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of LK (1976) for africanised elements in SOA	151
Table 6. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of MM (1979) for africanised elements in WHY	152
Table 7. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of TUL (1980) for africanised elements in INT	153
Table 8. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of NET (1989) for africanised elements in JOM	154
Table 9. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of EFU-T (1989) for africanised elements in EFU-S	155
Table 10. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of VR (1996) for africanised elements in DL	156
Table 11. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of MU (2002) for africanised elements in CHA	158
Table 12. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of PKA (2009) for africanised elements in HALF	159
Table 13. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of PURP (2010) for africanised elements in PHIB	161
Table 14. Number of africanised elements in the extracts of the source texts and their retention in the target-text extracts	163

## Abbreviations

CHA	<i>Changes: A Love Story</i> (Aidoo 1994 [1991])
DL	<i>Dangerous Love</i> (Okri 1997 [1996])
EFU-S	<i>Efuru</i> (Nwapa 1975 [1966])
EFU-T	<i>Efuru</i> (Nwapa 1989)
FRA	<i>Fragments</i> (Armah 1979 [1969])
HALF	<i>Half of a Yellow Sun</i> (Adichie 2007 [2006])
INT	<i>The Interpreters</i> (Soyinka 1976 [1965])
JOM	<i>The Joys of Motherhood</i> (Emecheta 1988 [1979])
KM	<i>Kansan mies</i> (Achebe 1969)
LK	<i>Laittomuuden kausi</i> (Soyinka 1976)
MM	<i>Mistä meille tämä armo</i> (Armah 1979)
MOP	<i>A Man of the People</i> (Achebe 1966)
MU	<i>Muutoksia</i> (Aidoo 2002)
NET	<i>Nnu Egon tarina</i> (Emecheta 1989)
PHIB	<i>Purple Hibiscus</i> (Adichie 2004 [2003])
PIR	<i>Pirstaleita</i> (Armah 1971)
PKA	<i>Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa</i> (Adichie 2009)
PURP	<i>Purppuranpunainen hibiskus</i> (Adichie 2010)
PVJ	<i>Palmuviinijuoppo</i> (Tutuola 1963)
PWD	<i>The Palm-Wine Drinkard</i> (Tutuola 1977 [1952])
SOA	<i>Season of Anomy</i> (Soyinka 1988 [1973])
TUL	<i>Tulkit</i> (Soyinka 1980)
VR	<i>Vaarallista rakkautta</i> (Okri 1996)
WHY	<i>Why Are We so Blest</i> (Armah 1974 [1972])



## **Acknowledgements**

The writing of this doctoral study has taken a long time, and during these years of my research journey, I have been fortunate to receive support and encouragement from many people. First and foremost, I want to thank my supervisor, Dr. Ritva Leppihalme, for her interest and inspiration through the whole course of my research. Many thanks to her for her patience, guidance and constructive comments. Another important source of motivation and inspiration has been the translation studies research seminar at the University of Helsinki. I am grateful to the members of the seminar meetings, especially Andrew Chesterman, Outi Paloposki, Liisa Tiittula and Kristiina Taivalkoski-Shilov, for their feedback and inspiring discussions. I also want to express my gratitude to the pre-examiners of my dissertation, Professor Sirkku Aaltonen and Professor Riitta Jääskeläinen, who carefully reviewed this thesis and gave valuable comments for improving its content and presentation. Finally, an important source of encouragement have been the members of my family. Thank you for your confidence, patience and support which helped me complete this project.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Historical and linguistic background

For a long time in history, Africa was considered a mysterious, primitive and dangerous continent. Even after the Portuguese had found a sea route to India around Africa in the 15th century AD, the inland of the continent remained inaccessible to explorers for centuries. The exploration and occupation of the African continent started in the late eighteenth century, and it culminated in what is known as the scramble for Africa and the subsequent partition of the continent between the European imperial nations at the Berlin conference in 1884-1885. Europeans wrote stories about their adventures in Africa as early as the sixteenth century, and a tradition of negative portrayal of Africa and its inhabitants developed which was meant to justify the slave trade, the colonial enterprise, and the mission of civilizing the "Dark Continent". But even after most African countries had attained political independence in the 1950s and 1960s, the negative images did not disappear. As Ghanaian poet and novelist Kofi Awoonor (1975: 3) once put it:

Africa once loomed in the imaginings of European and other scholars, travelers, romantics, and adventurers as a land of darkness, of mysterious tribes engaged in frightful orgies, of primitive and raw instincts such as cannibalism, of dark sinister practices in voodoo and sorcery, of wide savannas, deep impenetrable jungles, of instant death and breathtaking events, of wild and untamable animals and people. Sad to relate, this image is still fostered by the movie industry and in European and American television.

West African writers started to produce fiction in English in the 1940s and 1950s, and one of their aims was to correct such distorted images of Africa. At the same time, the movement towards independence intensified on the continent, and by the middle of the 1960s the majority of the African nations had gained independence, for example Ghana in 1957, Nigeria, Belgian Congo and many French colonies in 1960, and Kenya in 1963. One of the problems that African writers of the newly independent countries had to face was the question of language choice in their literary creation. If they used indigenous languages, they might be able to express African experience more naturally, but they would limit their potential readership considerably. Many authors chose to write in the languages of the former colonial rulers because they had been educated in those

languages and they wanted to reach a wider international audience. Writers in other former colonies have had to solve similar problems. The Indian novelist Raja Rao (1977: vii) pondered over the difficulties involved in writing in English in the foreword to his book *Kanthapura* (originally published in 1938):

The telling has not been easy. One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language. I use the word "alien," yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up — like Sanskrit or Persian was before — but not of our emotional make-up. We are all instinctively bilingual, many of us writing in our own language and in English. We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will some day prove to be as distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American.

Rao thus suggests the use of a "dialect" when writing in the imported language of the former colonisers. Many anglophone West African writers have come to a similar conclusion when they have struggled with the dilemma of how to convey African culture, traditions and thought patterns through the adopted language. They have experimented with English, producing innovative texts where the language is made to bend according to their needs.

The techniques of africanising English range from the sporadic use of words and syntactic structures that derive from various indigenous African languages to the use of local varieties of English that emerged in Africa south of the Sahara during the periods of exploration, occupation and colonisation when the English language came in contact with local, indigenous languages of the subcontinent. The contact, however, has continued even after the British colonisation ended, because English has retained its position as the language of administration, commerce, education and media in the former British colonies in West Africa. Consequently, English in West Africa is continuously being affected by local languages and conditions and new African features are adopted into it. A similar development has taken place in many other former British colonies, for example, in India, up to the point that we can talk about postcolonial or new Englishes, or about english (Ashcroft et al. 1991).

Anglophone West African writers may want to bend the language of the ex-colonisers to add local colour to their texts, but often their purpose is to make the language express West African life and experience better. Africanised English can also

be seen as a means towards changing the negative representations of Africa prevalent in the West. In addition, West African writers may want to reduce the hegemonic position of English and contribute to the continuing decolonisation of their home countries. Decolonisation aims at dismantling the colonial structures and practices, and it “seeks freedom from colonial forms of *thinking*, to revive native, local and vernacular forms of knowledge by questioning and overturning European categories and epistemologies” (Nayar 2010: 3; italics in the original). Thus, the nativisation of English in the literature of the former British colonies in West Africa may also have political and ideological aims. As English is usually not the mother tongue of West African writers, it has been suggested that their writing in English could even be called “creative translation” (Gyasi 1999: 82). The source text in this case is “imaginary”, i.e. it does not exist in written form, but it could be found, for example, in the common oral heritage of African writers (Bandia 2006: 355). And, as Gyasi (1999: 86) puts it, “[b]y choosing to “Africanize” — that is, translate — their languages and models into the European language, the African writers question the historically established authority of the European language and establish their languages as equally viable means of producing discourse”.

*Discourse* can have different definitions in different disciplines. According to Hall (1992: 318), “discourse is a way of talking about or representing something. It produces knowledge that shapes perceptions and practice. It is part of the way in which power operates”. Texts written to justify the slave trade and colonialism usually stress the ethnic superiority of Europeans and the racial inferiority of all others. Types of discourse produced to distinguish between self (imperial rulers) and the other (colonised peoples) can be called *colonialist discourse*. Nayar (2010: 2; italics in the original) defines such discourse as “the construction of the native, usually in stereotypical ways, in European narratives, images and representations”, where “[t]he native is *constructed* as primitive, depraved, pagan, criminal, immoral, vulnerable and effeminate”. Besides constructing a reality where the colonialists “see the native *through* the lens of this discourse” (Nayar 2010: 2; italics in the original), colonialist discourse can also have an effect on decisions about the political-administrative measures in the colonies, because the claims of the discourse about the characteristics of the indigenous people are believed to be true. Colonialist discourse then “becomes [. . .] the mode of perceiving, judging and acting upon the non-European” (Nayar 2010: 2). Hall (1992: 318) observes that colonialist discourse is not yet an issue of the past, gone with the ending of the colonial era, but “in transformed and reworked forms, this discourse continues to inflect the language of the

West, its image of itself and 'others' [. . .] the discourse of 'the West and the Rest' is alive and well in the modern world".

Africanising techniques signal the difference of West African texts from those written in the service of the former imperial centre. Writers from former colonies who try to subvert the disparaging representations of the other that are widespread in colonialist discourse can be said to employ *postcolonial discourse*. This type of discourse involves, according to Tiffin (1987: 18), "the rereading and rewriting of the European historical and fictional record", and these

subversive manoeuvres [. . .] are characteristic of the post-colonial texts, as the subversive is characteristic of post-colonial discourse in general. Post-colonial literatures/cultures are thus constituted in counter-discursive rather than homologous practices, and they offer 'fields' of counter-discursive strategies to the dominant discourse.

The purpose of postcolonial discourse is thus to resist colonialist ideologies and discursive practices, and one of its methods is the africanisation of the European languages. (Postcolonialism can also mean simply writing that derives from formerly colonised countries, as Tiffin [1991: vii] points out.) Many anglophone West African novels are written to counter the traditional images of Africa and its inhabitants, and they contain africanised English, thus they can be said to be part of postcolonial discourse in the sense Tiffin (1987) describes above. There are, however, also works of African literature which have not been affected either by the colonial experience or its aftermath, and Mazrui (2004: 118-119) argues that these works are not taken sufficiently into account in postcolonial criticism when the term "post-colonial" is defined only as "the material effects of colonisation and the huge diversity of everyday and sometimes hidden responses to it throughout the world" (Ashcroft et al. 1999b: 3).

The africanisation of European languages in West African fiction has been studied by Zabus (1991), who has discovered three types of indigenisation strategies: the insertion of words from local languages into European-language texts; the bending of the syntactic structures of the European language to reflect the syntactic structures of African languages; and the use of some type of pidgin. More detailed classifications of authorial techniques to africanise literary language in anglophone West African novels are presented, for example, by Igboanusi (2001), Dako (2001, 2002) and Bamiro (2006).

When literary works from former British colonies in West Africa started to emerge in the 1950s, they were first relegated to a marginal position in the literary markets of the English-speaking world, but gradually such writing has found more and more readers abroad, both in English and in translation. When a writer has used africanised English in a literary work, and the work is then translated into another language, the translator is faced with the problem of how to convey the meanings and connotations of such language varieties, as there are usually no equivalent varieties available in the target language. There are not many studies on the subject of africanised europhone language and its translation. Batchelor (2009) has studied linguistic innovation in francophone African literature and its translation into English. Bandia (2008) discusses europhone African literature and its translation into some other European languages, but his focus is mainly on writing-as-translation (the writing of African texts in European languages conceived as translation) and how concepts used in translation studies could be applied to the writing of europhone African literature; consequently, translation as interlingual transfer is touched upon only in rather general terms. Other works on postcolonial translation include Bassnett & Trivedi (1999), Robinson (1997), and Tymoczko (1999a, 2007). The translation of African literature into Finnish has been studied, for example, by Tervonen (1997, 2007), who has investigated the choice and reception of this literature in Finland. The linguistic and cultural details of African source texts and the translation of these features into the target texts have not received much attention in Finland before the present study.

Even though Finland did not have any colonies overseas during the colonial era, the common Western cultural heritage ensured the introduction and circulation of negative stereotypes about Africa and its people in this country as well. School books conditioned the minds of Finnish children to certain images of the continent, which were reinforced by reading colonial books set in Africa. Many works of colonial literature have been translated into Finnish during the past century, especially adventure books for young readers such as Edgar Rice Burroughs' *Tarzan* series, which started to appear in Finland in 1921. The classical English work set partly in Africa, *Heart of Darkness* (1902) by Joseph Conrad, was published in a Finnish version as late as in 1968, but other texts depicting Africa and its people in a less than complimentary light had been available as long as decades earlier. Finnish missionaries and travellers wrote first-hand accounts of the distant, exotic continent, and Finnish authors of fiction could use Africa as a setting for their literary production. A popular board game called *Afrikan Tähti* ('the Star of

Africa') also repeats many colonial myths about Africa. The combined effect of such influences may have been an irrational fear of black people, as it was only on rare occasions that a black person could even be encountered in Finland before the 1950s. As the Finnish novelist and translator Eila Pennanen once revealed when discussing racism in Finland with another writer, Tuula-Liina Varis: "She [Pennanen] said that she quite understood the horror that Finns had of Negroes. When she was in Paris for the first time after the Second World War, she was scared stiff when for the first time a Negro man walked past her. She started to feel quite sick, as if her stomach had turned upside down because of the horror" (Varis 1997: 10; my translation).

The first West African novel translated into Finnish was the Nigerian Amos Tutuola's *The Palm-Wine Drinkard and his dead Palm-Wine Tapster in the Deads' Town* (1952), which was published in Finland in 1963. During the following fifteen years, works by Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka and Ayi Kwei Armah reached readers in Finnish translation. Later, such anglophone West African writers as Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Ama Ata Aidoo, Buchi Emecheta, Flora Nwapa and Ben Okri have also had books published for the Finnish literary market. Most of the anglophone West African novelists who have had works translated into Finnish use more or less africanised English in their texts. In addition to providing local colour, they usually also want to signal the difference of their language from standard English, which is connected to the colonial history of their home countries. Thus, africanised English in their works may also have political and ideological purposes, such as decolonisation.

As many anglophone West African literary texts contain linguistic features that have their origin in African languages and cultures, such texts can be considered *hybrid*. The notion of *hybridity* derives from biology, where it is defined as "an offspring of mixed origin, resulting from the encounter of different breeds or species" (Nouss 2001: 227). In translation studies, Schäffner and Adab (2001b: 169) adopted the term and defined a hybrid text as

a text that results from a translation process. It shows features that somehow seem 'out of place'/'strange'/'unusual' for the receiving culture, i.e., the target culture. These features, however, are not the result of a lack of translational competence or examples of 'translationese', but they are evidence of conscious and deliberate decisions by the translator.

This definition is opposed by Pym (2001: 200-201), who claims that in many cases target texts are in fact less hybrid than source texts, because translators tend to polish strange elements from target texts to make them conform to target expectations, for example, fluency. According to him, translators live and work between cultures, in “intercultural space”, as he calls this kind of a situation. As a translator of non-literary texts, Pym (2001: 202-203, 205) has observed that writers of source texts increasingly share this intercultural space with translators, which has led to increased hybridity in source texts that are written ‘between cultures’. Snell-Hornby (2001: 207) states in a similar vein that writers of (untranslated) postcolonial texts live in a “space ‘in between’” and produce texts which typically contain linguistic hybridity, for example, lexical and grammatical innovation. Based on such comments, Schäffner and Adab (2001c: 277) redefine hybrid texts to be “not only the product of a translation process but [. . .] they can also be produced as original texts in a specific cultural space, which is often in itself an intersection of different cultures”. This definition covers the anglophone literature emerging from West Africa where the co-existence of the African and British cultures results in a multilingual and multicultural environment. The West African novel can also be called a hybrid phenomenon because it is a combination of the European genre of novel and African oral traditions.

In the discussion of the translation of europhone African literature, there are two levels in the process which need to be kept separate. As Bandia puts it:

Translating African creative works is a double ‘transposition’ process: (1) *primary level of translation*, i.e. the expression of African thought in a European language by an African writer; (2) *secondary level of translation*, i.e. the ‘transfer’ of African thought from one European language to another by the translator. The primary level of translation results in an African variety of the European language, and the translator’s task is to deal with the unique problems posed by this so-called non-standard language. (1993: 61; italics in the original)

In other words, the African author produces the hybrid European-language source text through a process which can be called translation as well, in accordance with Gyasi’s (1999: 82) notion of “creative translation” mentioned above. This hybrid written source text, a product of the primary level, is then translated into another European language by the translator.

In postcolonial studies, the term ‘translation’ is mainly used to refer to the primary level of the process described above. For example, an article by Adejunmobi (1998)



titled “Translation and Postcolonial Identity: African Writing and European Languages” centres on African writing in European languages. Similarly, Bandia (2012: 423) claims that

[u]ntil recently, postcolonial translation has focused more on the study of interventionist practices such as appropriation and decentralization of the dominant language, which fall short of showing an actual confrontation between so-called minority languages and the dominant language. Despite the engaging conclusions drawn regarding the identity affirmation of postcolonial subjects, the supreme authority of the metropolitan idiom continues to impose itself [ . . . ].

In this study, investigation of the authorial techniques that writers use to africanise their texts belongs to the primary level, while the term ‘translation’ is reserved for the second level, the translation of written anglophone source texts into Finnish.

## **1.2 The scope and method of the study**

As was stated in the section above, West African authors often use loan words from African languages and nonstandard syntactic structures, which authorial techniques result in hybrid texts. In this thesis, I study both how anglophone West African writers have africanised English and how Finnish translators have rendered into Finnish the africanised features of the source texts. The aim is to find out what happens to the hybridity present in the source texts when these are translated into Finnish. Pym’s (2010: 153) claim that “translations tend to be less hybrid than non-translations” forms the basis for my hypothesis that in the translation into Finnish of anglophone West African novels, the hybrid (‘strange’/‘unusual’, thus: marked) linguistic elements in the source texts have in many cases been rendered by non-hybrid (unmarked) linguistic material. One reason for the reduction of hybridity in the translation of West African literature could be that there are no corresponding linguistic target varieties; another that neutralisation of linguistic difference and variation is thought to be a general trend in translation, one of the proposed so-called translation universals (“the law of growing standardization”, Toury 1995: 267). As Ortega y Gasset (2000: 50) remarks:

To write well is to make continual incursions into grammar, into established usage, and into accepted linguistic norms. It is an act of permanent rebellion against the social environs, a subversion. To write well is to employ a certain radical courage. Fine, but the translator is usually a shy character. [ . . . ] He finds himself facing an

enormous controlling apparatus, composed of grammar and common usage. What will he do with the rebellious text? Isn't it too much to ask that he also be rebellious, particularly since the text is someone else's? He will be ruled by cowardice, so instead of resisting grammatical restraints he will do just the opposite: he will place the translated author in the prison of normal expression; that is, he will betray him.

Venuti (1995b: 18) similarly argues that “[t]ranslation is the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text with a text that will be intelligible to the target-language reader”. The aim of translation is often not only intelligibility but fluency or easy readability, which translators try to ensure, according to Venuti (1995b: 1) “by adhering to current usage, maintaining continuous syntax, fixing a precise meaning”. Therefore, it is to be expected that the distinctive linguistic elements of africanised English in anglophone West African fiction have been at least partly eliminated in translation.

Thus far, there are fifteen anglophone West African novels translated into Finnish, twelve of them from Nigeria and three from Ghana. My material consists of twelve of these, nine from Nigeria and three from Ghana. One of the books not included is *Amina* by Mohammed Umar (2005, Finnish translation *Amina* 2008), which is set in a Muslim community in northern Nigeria. The novel tells about the liberation struggle of women and is written in a very didactic style. I considered both the theme and the style of the novel so different from the other twelve novels that I decided to exclude it from this study. The other two novels not included in the study are *Americanah* (2013) by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (*Kotiinpalaajat* 2013) and *Things Fall Apart* (1958) by Chinua Achebe (*Kaikki hajoa* 2014), which could not be included because of time constraints. The selected twelve books have been translated into Finnish during a period of 47 years (1963-2010), and they have been translated by nine translators.

In the following chapters, I will first study what techniques anglophone West African writers have used to africanise their texts, after which I will analyse the selected source and target texts using the method developed within descriptive translation studies (Toury 1995). In this method, “coupled pairs” of “replacing” and “replaced elements” (from target and source texts, respectively) are mapped onto each other to discover what kinds of translation relationships exist between them. The aim is to find general patterns of relationships which would enable the researcher to establish the norm of translation equivalence and the concept of translation that have directed the work of the translator in question (Toury 1995: 37). This could then make it possible to discover the norms

that have prevailed in the translation of this type of literature into Finnish. The period of 47 years covered by my material should also make it possible to detect changes that may have taken place in the norms that regulate the translation of anglophone West African fiction in Finland.

I will also discuss ethical aspects in the translation of West African literature. Africanised English has certain functions in the source texts, and geopolitical considerations need to be taken into account in its translation. For example, one of the aims of the writers is to change the derogatory images of Africans in the Western world, and if texts from West Africa are translated without respecting this aim, the resulting texts may even contribute to maintaining the representations of Africa which the writers wanted to change, which could be considered unethical. One of my aims is thus to investigate whether and how traditional images of Africa have affected the translating of West African novels into Finnish. Ethical translation has been studied, for example, by Venuti (1998), but his focus is more on the target than on the source side.

In chapter 2, I will study traditional images of Africa in the West and in Finland, and I will present some manifestations of colonialist discourse in English and Finnish texts. Chapter 3 focuses on the West African novel in English and on the techniques that writers use to africanise the English language in their works. I will also present there the authors, translators and novels selected for this study. Chapter 4 deals with translation norms and postcolonial translation theory and presents the methodology of the empirical part of this study and the translation strategies that are likely to be employed in the translation of africanised language in literary texts. In chapter 5, I will analyse the strategies used by the translators of the twelve selected novels to render africanised English into Finnish. This chapter consists of a qualitative and a quantitative section, where the qualitative analysis presents a selection of different translation strategies that were employed by the Finnish translators of the twelve novels, while the quantitative analysis consists of a detailed study of the first 30 pages of each of the twelve novels and their Finnish translations. In addition, the findings of the analysis are discussed in relation to norms. I will also discuss whether the results show evidence of translational solutions which maintain the postcolonial discourse of the source texts, or whether the distinctive (hybrid/marked) linguistic and cultural elements that constitute africanised English have been neutralised or even rendered by their opposites, in other words by elements that resemble colonialist discourse. The results will thus either support or refute

my hypothesis that there is less hybridity (markedness) in the target texts than in the source texts. Chapter 6 is the conclusion of the study.

### **1.3 A short history of Ghana and Nigeria**

As the material of this study consists of novels from Ghana and Nigeria, a short historical review of these countries will help to situate the novels into their cultural and political context. During the colonial era, Ghana was known as the Gold Coast, a colony which the British established in 1874. After Ghana became the first nation in Africa south of the Sahara to become independent in 1957, the country was led by Kwame Nkrumah, an advocate of Pan-Africanism and socialism. In 1966, Nkrumah was deposed by a military coup, and a series of military coups followed. When Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings became the President in 1979, he soon arranged the election for a civilian president. After two years, however, Rawlings staged another military coup, and he ruled for ten years before the country was returned to a civilian rule. Rawlings won the presidential elections in the 1990s, after which John Agyekum Kufuor and Atta Mills became the heads of state.

The birth of the country known as Nigeria dates back to the division of African territory between the European colonial powers at the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885. Peoples of different cultures, languages and religions were forced to live inside the boundaries of the new country, and this led to the formation of three main centres of loyalty: Hausas in the north of Nigeria, Yorubas in the west, and Igbos in the east. The political system that the British introduced to the country further intensified ethnic conflicts. When independence was imminent in Nigeria (the country became independent in 1960), a general election was arranged in 1959. After the election, tribalism and corruption started to flourish as allegiance to one's ethnic group was considered more important than allegiance to the new nation. After the election of 1964, the country started to drift towards anarchy and chaos, which culminated in a military takeover in 1966. One year later, after a massacre of Igbos in northern parts of Nigeria, Igbos decided to secede from Nigeria and form an independent state, the Republic of Biafra. A civil war broke out which resulted in the loss of life of an estimated one million people due to fighting and starvation. The war lasted for almost three years until Biafra was annexed back to the Nigerian federal state in January 1970.

Since the Biafra war, military governments have alternated with civilian rule in Nigeria. Civilian-run elections were held in 1979, but a military coup in 1983 reinstated soldiers into the highest positions of the nation. A new coup d'état took place in 1985, and General Ibrahim Babangida declared himself the President of Nigeria. He was succeeded by another General, Sani Abacha, in late 1993. After Abacha's death in 1998, Nigeria has returned to civilian governments.

## 2. Western images of Africa

### 2.1 Colonialist discourse and the primitive

Africa has been the subject of writing from the days of antiquity as demonstrated by Mudimbe (1988) in his book *The Invention of Africa*. However, because not much was known about the African continent in the early times, the descriptions were mainly concerned with the northern parts of the continent. In spite of lack of knowledge, imaginative accounts were written, depicting, for example, strange people, such as "'dog-headed humans,' 'headless peoples' and 'human beings who have their eyes in their breasts'" (Herodotus 1921 IV: 191, as cited in Mudimbe 1988: 70). Such images lived on for centuries: as late as the sixteenth century the English ship captain John Lok wrote of "people without heads, having their eyes and mouths in their breasts" (Hammond and Jablow 1992: 20, as cited in Achebe 2000: 27).

In 1441, the first European ship arrived to the West African coast, probably to present-day Mauritania, and the Portuguese crew of the ship took a few African captives with them back to Portugal. Following the Portuguese example, some other European countries as well sent discovery expeditions to the coast of Africa, and a small-scale slave trade ensued. With the discovery of America in 1492, the demand for African slaves grew exponentially, leading to the transport of millions of Africans to the New World during the following three centuries. Forts and trading posts were built on the African coast, but even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, many areas in the interior of the continent were still unexplored. The exploration and invasion of the African continent began in the late eighteenth century; thus it coincided with the intensification of efforts towards the suppression of the slave trade, which led to the passage in the British Parliament of the Abolition Act of 1807. The occupation of the continent continued, leading to the scramble for Africa and the partition of the continent between the European colonial nations at the Berlin conference in 1884-1885.

As early as the sixteenth century, European explorers, traders, and missionaries wrote stories about their experiences in Africa, and a tradition of negative representation of Africans developed which was meant to justify the slave trade. Such stories were influential in building the images of Africa and its inhabitants in Europe, where there was a great demand for exotic accounts about this continent. The history of the relations

between Europe and Africa is one of invasion, imperialism and colonialism, and tales depicting Africa and its peoples were in line with the European colonial enterprise. (*Imperialism* and *colonialism* are often used interchangeably, but I use the distinction suggested by Edward W. Said [1994: 8] whereby "'imperialism' means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory; 'colonialism', which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory".)

The stories about Africans can be seen as manifestations of what Said (1995: 7), after Denys Hay (1968), has called "the idea of Europe, a collective notion identifying 'us' Europeans as against all 'those' non-Europeans". Europe needed non-Europe to define its own limits, as the European self could be seen as the opposite of the non-European Other. An important component of this process was "the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures" (Said 1995: 7). Identification with the non-European was thus impossible, and the writers who described Africa and its mysteries to the European audience set themselves outside of the experiences they wrote about. Said calls the products of such exteriority "*representations*, not as 'natural' depictions" (1995: 21; italics in the original). There was an implied belief that if non-Europeans could represent themselves, they would do it, but "since [they] cannot, the representation does the job, for the West, and *faute de mieux*, for the poor [non-Europe]" (Said 1995: 21; italics in the original). Representations of others were not, according to Ashcroft et al. (1999d: 85), "accounts of different peoples and societies, but a projection of European fears and desires masquerading as scientific/'objective' knowledges".

Besides non-fictional accounts about Africa, fiction was also written to support the colonial enterprise. Imperial ideology and fiction had a mutual influence on each other in that fiction formed the ideology by justifying the aims of colonialism, which were partly based on the putative superiority of the colonialists. As it was perceived that there was a contradiction between the theoretical aims of colonialism and their brutal implementation in the colonies, in the words of JanMohamed (1999: 23), fiction "attempts to mask the contradiction by obsessively portraying the supposed inferiority and barbarity of the racial Other, thereby insisting on the profound moral difference between self and Other".

Texts which were written to justify and consolidate colonialism can be said to form colonialist discourse, part of which is colonialist literature. Colonialist discourse

operated through binarisms, such as self/other, civilised/native, and us/them (Ashcroft et al. 1999c: 8). Colonialist literature represents “a world at the boundaries of ‘civilization’”, which “is therefore perceived as uncontrollable, chaotic, unattainable, and ultimately evil” (JanMohamed 1999: 18). The consequence of colonialist discourse was that Africans were made into stereotypes, they were described either as “noble savages” or barbarians, even cannibals, according to the needs of the situation. Europeans, then, who considered themselves superior in every respect, had an obvious mission in Africa: they were bringing light and civilisation to the Dark Continent. (The first to call Africa so is claimed to have been Henry Morton Stanley, whose book titled *Through the Dark Continent* was published in 1878.)

One strategy in the denigration of Africa was to “dehistoricize and desocialize [the continent], to present it as a metaphysical ‘fact of life,’ before which those who have fashioned the colonial world are themselves reduced to the role of passive spectators in a mystery not of their making” (JanMohamed 1999: 22). Such a process denied Africans a history and normal social interaction, and examples of this are to be found in colonialist fiction, for example, in Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* (1902). Ten years before its publication the lecture notes of the famous German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), which were published posthumously by his students with the title *Philosophie der Weltgeschichte*, had been published in English translation as *The Philosophy of History*. In the introduction of the book, Hegel gave the following description about Africa and its inhabitants:

Africa proper, as far as History goes back, has remained – for all purposes of connection with the rest of the World – shut up; it is the Gold-land compressed within itself – the land of childhood, which lying beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night. (1956: 91)

The Negro, as already observed, exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thought of reverence and morality – all that we call feeling – if we would rightly comprehend him; there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character. (1956: 93)

At this point we leave Africa, not to mention it again. For it is no historical part of the World; it has no movement or development to exhibit. Historical movements in it – that is in its northern part – belong to the Asiatic or European World. [. . .] What we properly understand by Africa, is the Unhistorical, Undeveloped Spirit, still involved in the conditions of mere nature, and which had to be presented here only as on the threshold of the World’s History. (1956: 99)



As Hegel sees it: "[t]he History of the World travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of History, Asia is the beginning" (1956: 103). According to his influential model, communities develop from simple, primitive stages into more complex, modern societies. Europe was the most developed and consequently a suitable model for others to follow. Africa was still in the initial stages of development, in the "childhood", and Hegel did not even see much hope of its ever "growing up".

Torgovnick (1990) has studied conceptions of the primitive in the Western world, for example in sciences like anthropology and psychology, and in literature and art. She defines *primitive* as "the condition of societies before the emergence of the modern state" (1990: 21), and she lists as markers of primitive societies "rudimentary technology and (frequently, though by no means always) a nomadic or village life with agrarian, herding, or hunting economies" (1990:21). She adds that nowadays few such communities have escaped contacts with the modern world. Torgovnick (1990: 20) feels uncomfortable with the word *primitive*, "with its aura of unchangeability, voicelessness, mystery, and difference from the West" but she thinks that the alternatives, for example, *savage*, *tribal*, *third world*, *underdeveloped*, *traditional*, *exotic*, *non-Western* and *Other*, all lack some aspects of its meaning. In addition, these terms would not help to avoid the connotations of *primitive*, because they "[a]ll take the West as norm and define the rest as inferior, different, deviant, subordinate, and subordinatable" (1990: 21).

Images and ideas, which Torgovnick calls tropes, present primitives as children, "libidinous, irrational, violent, dangerous" (1990: 8). Such tropes form the basis of what she calls primitivist discourse, which, she claims, is "fundamental to the Western sense of self and Other" (1990: 8), and which can also be called colonialist discourse. We are interested in the primitive partly because, according to Torgovnick (1990: 17) "[w]e conceive of ourselves as at a crossroads between the civilized and the savage; we are formed by our conceptions of both those terms, conceived dialectically". Even though primitive societies seem to be insignificant to our modern or postmodern lives, Torgovnick (1990: 246) claims that

allusions to them are built into the fashions and styles we live with and into the ways we think about ourselves. The primitive is in our museums and homes, in our closets and jewelry boxes, in our hearts and minds. The primitive is everywhere present in modernity and postmodernity [. . .] A voyeuristic interest in the primitive surrounds us in what we see and hear, what we learn and read, from the cradle to the grave: it is part of our atmosphere, of the culture we live and breathe. We have no need to 'go primitive' because we have already 'gone

primitive' by the fact of being born into our culture. We are all like the writers and thinkers I have studied, imagining 'them' in order to imagine 'us' — savage intellectuals leading modern lives.

Western societies are thus interlocked with other parts of the world, and increasingly so in the era of globalisation. At the end of her book, Torgovnick (1990: 247) speculates on the idea that Western primitivism might have had a different history in which primitive societies would have been considered to be valid alternatives to ours. As the history of imperialism and colonialism shows, that was not allowed to happen, as primitive peoples were reduced to beings who were hardly human, often with disastrous consequences, for the primitives, that is. Torgovnick believes that many events during the past few centuries took place because "higher" cultures had notions about primitive societies that made it possible for them to conquer, exploit and even exterminate groups of people considered "lower". Such events include the partition of Africa, the invasion of Ethiopia and the Nazi 'final solution' for Jews and Roma people. Later events, such as the Vietnam war, the U.S. actions in the Persian Gulf and the Western backing of dictatorships in countries like Zaire, can also be seen as resulting from views about what is primitive and what is not. In addition, it can be noted that "the discourse of stereotyping" (Nayar 2010: 203) has intensified again after the 11 September 2001 attacks. Torgovnick (1990: 13) rightly observes that "[o]nce we recognize the persistence and fluidity of primitivist discourse, Western attitudes toward and media coverage of many events can be seen as extensions of older and, to some extent, discredited, traditions".

As Torgovnick has shown, primitive societies, African ones included, are not such distant phenomena as we might think them to be. In the modern world, everything affects everything else, and we cannot live without being influenced by other parts of the world. For the development of a genuine understanding between cultures and societies around the world, it is important to be aware of the different stereotypes and their origins. Reading literature written by representatives of distant cultures is one way of learning more about the Other. Literature from distant places often needs to be translated, and since translators are the products of their own cultures, they, too, have been conditioned by those cultures since childhood. As Torgovnick (1990: 17) puts it, "we all react to the primitive according to an accumulated set of personal and cultural 'intuitions'". The solution could be, according to Torgovnick (1990: 19), "readjustments in thought that stripped away decades, even centuries, of usage which saw primitive societies not as

various and complete in themselves but as developing towards Western norms". Even in a country like Finland, with few direct links with Africa, there have been and are many ways to be conditioned to the traditional Western conceptions of the continent, as will be shown in the section below.

## **2.2 The portrayal of Africa in Finland**

Even though Finland has never had colonies overseas, a common European cultural background connects the country to the exploitation of the developing world and to the recirculation of stereotypes about Africans (Löytty 1997: 11). Colonialist discourse and its representations of Africa have been and still are widespread in Finland as well, as for example Olli Löytty shows in his books *Valkoinen pimeys: Afrikka kolonialistisessa kirjallisuudessa* (1997) and *Ambomaamme: suomalaisen lähetyskirjallisuuden me ja muut* (2006).

### **2.2.1 Representations of Africa for Finnish children**

In the past half-century, children in Finland may have had their first contact with the African continent through a game called *Afrikan Tähti* ('the Star of Africa'), which is a board game conceived in Finland and dating back to 1951. The game has been translated into more than ten languages; almost three and a half million copies have been sold worldwide during the past fifty years, more than half of them in Finland, where some 30,000 copies are still sold every year. The players of the game search for a jewel called *Afrikan Tähti*, moving around the map of Africa in places like the Gold Coast and the Slave Coast. The purpose of the game is to get the jewel out of Africa to a "safer" place. Löytty (1997: 13) does not regard this game only as an innocent pastime, because it repeats many colonial myths about Africa and its exploitation.

School books form an influential source of knowledge about Africa. Eeva Pilke (1994) has investigated some history and geography textbooks that were widely used in Finnish schools in the late 1980s. She discovered that the general attitude in the texts was that white people were considered "normal" while black people were somehow very different. They seemed to be characteristically uncivilised and primitive, and Africa was considered to be "a lost continent". Many other traditional stereotypes were repeated as well, and Pilke was especially alarmed by the indiscriminate use of the term *neekeri*,

'Negro', as a commonplace word to depict a black person in the texts studied. Marjo Kaartinen claims in her book *Neekerikammo: Kirjoituksia vieraan pelosta* (2004) that even though *neekeri* is considered to have been a neutral word in Finland up to the last decades of the twentieth century, it has always had connotations of paganism, savagery, laziness, stupidity, hypersexuality, ugliness etc., because Finns have shared the same ideas of white superiority as, for example, the English (2004: 13, 15). She even claims that the word may have expressed strong racial hatred (2004: 152). For Pilke as well, the use of the term *neekeri* is an indication of racist discourse, and her conclusion is that even though it is stated that one of the aims of education should be to improve relations between different cultures, the textbooks she studied did not always work towards such a purpose.

As can be expected, textbooks used in Finnish schools prior to the 1980s were quite consistent in labelling black Africans as *neekeri*. I studied a few textbooks and found many instances of this term. For example, in a geography book for secondary schools from 1959, *Oppikoulun maantieto* by Näsmark and Väänänen, the two or three million inhabitants of the Sahara desert are described in the following manner (English translations in square brackets in this chapter are mine):

Väestönä on idässä arabeja, lännessä berberejä ja näistä sekä neekereistä koostuneita sekakansoja. Osa elää maanviljelijöinä keitaissa, mutta monet heimot vaeltavat sinne tänne kameli-, lammas- ja vuohilaumoineen. (211)

[The region is populated in the east by Arabs, in the west by Berbers and peoples who are a mixture of these and Negroes. Some groups live as farmers in oases, while many tribes migrate here and there with their herds of camels, sheep and goats.]

In the south of the Sahara, there is an area called Sudan, "the country of blacks", a name given by the Arabs:

Saharan eteläpuolella asuu enimmäkseen *neekereitä*. Keski-Sudanissa väestö on osaksi berberien ja neekerien sekakansaa. He ovat muhamettilaisia, ja tämä uskonto on yhä enemmän leviämässä myös neekerien keskuuteen. (217; italics in the original)

Neekerit harjoittavat maanviljelyään alkeellisella tavalla. Kuokka on heidän tärkein ja usein ainoa työvälineensä (kuokkaviljely). Työn suorittavat naiset. (217)

[The region south of the Sahara is populated mainly by *Negroes*. The population in central Sudan is partly a mixture of Berbers and Negroes. They are Moslems, and this religion is spreading increasingly among the Negroes as well.

Negroes farm their land in a primitive fashion. The most important and often only tool they have is the hoe (hoe farming). The work is done by women.]

Africans are typically represented as passive, while Europeans and Americans are busy developing the continent:

Englantilaiset ovat rakentaneet patoja sekä Siniseen Niiliin että Valkoiseen Niiliin lähelle näiden yhtymäkohtaa. Täten on voitu kastella laaja autiomaa-alue, joka soveltuu *puuvillanviljelyyn*. (218; italics in the original)

#### **NEEKERITASAVALTOJA.**

**Liberia** Ylä-Guineassa, on itsenäinen tasavalta, joka on perustettu Yhdysvalloissa vapautetuille neekerioijille. Se on taloudellisesti riippuvainen tästä maasta, ja amerikkalaiset ovat perustaneet sinne mm. suuria *kautsuplantaaseja*. (219; emphasis and italics in the original)

[The English have built dams in both the Blue Nile and the White Nile, near the point where the two rivers meet. This has enabled a large area of desert to be irrigated and thus become suitable for *cotton farming*.

#### **NEGRO REPUBLICS**

**Liberia** in Upper Guinea is an independent republic founded for slaves who were freed in the United States. The republic is economically dependent on this nation, and Americans have started large *plantations of rubber plants*, etc. there.]

The exploitation of the colonies by the colonial masters is presented in a positive light as an indication of the activity of the Europeans:

Tärkeitä vientitavaroita ovat ennen kaikkea *kuparimalmi* ja *kupari* sekä radiumpitoiset kivennäiset, joita saadaan maan eteläosasta. Belgian Kongo on emämaataan kymmeniä kertoja suurempi ja sen maaperän aarteet ovat erittäin tärkeitä Belgian teollisuudelle ja hyvinvoinnille. (220-1; italics in the original)

Englantilaisten elinkeinoelämän alalla suorittamat toimenpiteet ovat ennen kaikkea edistäneet kaivosteollisuutta, kauppaa ja liikennettä. Etelä-Afrikka on nykyään maailman tärkein *kullan* ja *timanttien* tuottaja, se lähettää maailman markkinoille myös paljon kromi- ja kuparimalmia *Rhodesiasta*. (227; italics in the original)

[Important exports are, above all, *copper* and mineral substances containing radium which are mined in the southern parts of the country. Belgian Congo is

tens of times the size of its colonial power, and the treasures under its soil are very important for the industry and well-being of Belgium.

The economic measures taken by the English have contributed, above all, to the progress in mining industry, trade and traffic. Nowadays, South Africa is the most important producer of *gold* and *diamonds* in the world; it also exports a lot of chromium and copper from *Rhodesia* to the world market.]

Sub-Saharan Africa is hardly mentioned in the secondary school history book of the ancient and medieval times titled *Keskikoulun yleinen historia I: vanha ja keskiaika* from 1915 (nineteenth reprint in 1950; written by Mantere and Sarva), since that part of the world was unknown to the Europeans until the fifteenth century. However, in the last section of the book, which is about the European discoveries of other parts of the world, gold and black slaves are included among the loot imported from an African expedition:

**Meritie Intiaan.** 15:nnellä vuosisadalla p o r t u g a l i l a i s e t alkoivat innokkaasti etsiä meritietä Intiaan purjehtimalla Afrikan ympäri. Prinssi *Henrik Merenkulkija* lähetti retkikunnan toisensa jälkeen purjehtimaan pitkin Afrikan länsirannikkoa. Madeira ja Azorit löydettiin uudelleen. Vuosisadan puolivälissä saavuttiin Guinean lahteen, ja rannikolta tuotiin kotiin kultahiekkaa ja neekeriorjia. Se luulo, että täällä tukahduttavan kuumuuden ja kammottavien merihirviöiden takia olisi mahdoton purjehtia, oli osoittautunut vääräksi. (414; emphasis and italics in the original)

[**The sea route to India.** During the fifteenth century, the P o r t u g u e s e started eagerly to search for a sea route to India by sailing around Africa. Prince *Henry the Navigator* sent one expedition after another to sail along the west coast of Africa. The Madeira islands and the Azores islands were rediscovered. By mid-century, the Gulf of Guinea was reached, and gold sand and Negro slaves were brought back home from the coast. The belief that it would be impossible to sail here due to excessive heat and terrible sea monsters had been proved wrong.]

Besides school books, other types of texts have also played an important role in the conditioning of Finns to a certain image of Africa and its inhabitants. Löytty mentions as good examples Edgar Rice Burroughs' *Tarzan of the Apes* (1912) and such literary classics as Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902) and Graham Greene's *A Burnt-out Case* (1961), the Finnish translations of which are well-known and widely read in Finland. I will consider *Heart of Darkness* and *A Burnt-out Case* more closely in section 2.2.3 below, but first I will show how Africa has been presented in another type of influential literature, that is, travel books and fiction written by Finns who have had first-hand experience of the continent.

## 2.2.2 Finnish travel writing about Africa

As was stated above, Finland did not have any colonies in Africa, but the country is clearly part of the Western world and shares with it much of Western cultural heritage concerning colonial stereotypes. In addition, Finland has had fairly close ties to some parts of Africa, especially to Ovamboland (*Ambomaa* in Finnish) in northern South-West Africa (present-day Namibia), where Finnish missionary work had started as early as the 1860s. Finns were also travelling in other parts of the continent and wrote books about their experiences. I studied the descriptions of Africans in three travel books by Finns written in three different decades: the first in the 1930s, the second in the 1940s, and the last in the 1950s. In addition, I also consider two more recent literary works about Africa to shed more light on the Finnish image of Africa and its inhabitants. These two novels are Matti Pulkkinen's *Romaanihenkilön kuolema* (1985) and Väinö Lesonen's *Pole sana Afrika ja muita kertomuksia kehitysavun piiristä* (1999).

Northern South-West Africa was the destination of the Finnish missionary O. E. Närhi when he arrived in Africa around 1920. After years of evangelical work in Ovamboland, he returned home and wrote a book in 1930 about what he had seen and learned in Africa. On his way back to Finland, he travelled in the southern and eastern parts of the continent, and this is his description of some people in East Africa:

Ulkonäöltään ovat Kilimandjaron mustat rumia, ainakin ambolaisiin verrattuna. Tatuointi näyttää olevan täällä yleisemmin käytännössä. Useitten naisten kasvot ovat tatuoidut aivan hirviömäisiksi. [. . .] Itä-Afrikan mustat lienevät luonnostaan ambolaisia paljon lahjakkaampia ja kätevämpiä. Vuoristokansa on jäykkää ja sulkeutunutta, mutta uskollista. Tasangoilla on kansa huolettomampaa ja iloista, ambolaisia hetken lapsia muistuttavia. Rannikoilla on alkuasukasväestö eurooppalaisuuden turmelemaa. Se elää vaatien työnantajilta kohtuuttomia päiväpalkkoja ja kiskoen matkustajilta liiallisia kanto-, opastus- ja juomarahoja. Se on pakotettu sen tekemään, sillä elämä tulee kalliiksi, kun on hylätty heille luonnollinen elämä ja elintavat. Vieraat nautintoaineet ovat käytännössä, verhoudutaan ulkolaiseen rihkamaan, huvitellaan elokuvissa roskaohjelmistoja katsomassa, mitkä siveettömyyksineen ja murhineen ovat omiaan kiihoittamaan mustain eläimellisiä vaistoja. (1930: 143)

In the excerpt above, Närhi compares the East African blacks to those he had seen in Ovamboland and considers these uglier but more talented than the blacks in South West Africa. But both of these groups, he continues, resemble children, as they are carefree and happy. In the East African coast, Närhi observes, the native population has been

spoilt by European influence, which has led to a negative type of excitement of the savage instincts of the blacks.

Two decades later, a travel book depicting a trip to West Africa in 1947 by Anna-Liisa Kukkamäki (1948) is presented on the jacket copy to prospective buyers by retaining the old stereotypes of Africans as children and uncivilised people:

Meitä viehättää Afrikan mystiikka – mutta myös sen ihmisten välittömyys: Kultarannikon mustat ovat suuria lapsia – ilossaan herttaisen meluisia, surussaan avoimia, kiintymyksessään liikuttavia. Ja vaikka emme suo heille "sivistyskansan" ylvästä nimeä, emme voi olla näkemättä heissä ihailtavaa sielun kulttuuria, aitoa ja turmeltumatonta.

[We are fascinated by the mysticism of Africa – but also by the friendliness of its inhabitants: the blacks in the Gold Coast are big children – noisy when they are happy, touching when they like you, and they show their sadness openly. Even though they cannot be called “a civilised people”, we see in them an admirable culture of the soul, authentic and unspoilt.]

Kukkamäki herself makes the following observations about the people in the Gold Coast (Ghana):

mustan kylän tenniskentän laidassa on fetishitalo ja kristityn koulun ohitse remuaa hautajaiskulkue, ja valkoisen kirkon pyhään viileyteen kuuluu kuolemanrumpujen pakanallinen rytmi. Laskukonetta käyttelee tottuneesti mies, joka kotona nukkuu olkimatolla maasta tehdyssä talossa, ja puhelimeen vastaa toinen, jonka äiti on alaston simpukanpyytäjä. (1948: 17)

Melkoinen osa kirjallisuutta, joka koskettelee alkuasukkaiden sielunelämää, on lähetyssaarnaajien kirjoittamaa. Tietysti silloin mustan kansan oma sielunhoito tulee helposti maalatuksi pelon ja kauhun kaameilla väreillä, koska vieras uskonto saa ensinnä läheisyyteensä juuri hädän ja epätoivon raskauttamat, jotka turhaan ovat omilta jumaliltaan hakeneet lohtua ja pelastusta. Sairaudesta ja tuskasta kärsivä ihminen antautuu helposti sellaisen uskonnon huomaan, josta hän saa senkertaisen apunsa, mutta vaikea jaakopinpaininsa "pakanallakin" on lopullisessa uskonnon vaihtamisessa. Entiset jumalat hylätään kelvottomina ajaksi, mutta jos paljon aineellista hyvää ja henkistä valistusta levittänyt lähetysasema häviää, perii viidakko omansa nopeasti takaisin. (1948: 124-125)

In the excerpts above, Kukkamäki observes that the pagan and Christian ways of life reside side by side in the lives of the people. The literature about the inner life of the population is mainly written by missionaries, who, to promote their own purposes, describe local religions as filled with fear and horror. Kukkamäki believes that in a moment of trouble, a person may convert to Christianity, but this conversion may be



only temporary. Especially if the missionary station is closed, the jungle will soon reclaim the area. There is a similar image in Greene's *A Burnt-out Case* (see subsection 2.2.3) where the jungle will soon reclaim a road if it is left on its own.

The third travel book, *Mau Mau iskee, Haile Selassie rakentaa* by Seppo Simonen, was published in 1954, and it was written after Simonen had travelled in eastern Africa in 1952. This incidentally is the same year when the Nigerian writer Amos Tutuola's *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* (1952) was published in London. Simonen makes anthropological observations about the Africans generally:

Saharan eteläpuolella leviävää ns. neekeri-Afrikkaa lukuunottamatta on kaikkialla maailmassa kansoja, jotka omintakeisesti, ilman ulkopuolista apua ovat pystyneet kehittämään korkean kulttuurin. Jo 6000-8000 vuotta sitten Egyptissä rakennettiin pyramideja ja viereisen Kaksoisvirranmaan kulttuuri samoin on ikivanhaa. [. . .] Mutta neekeri-Afrikka eli musta Afrikka pysyi aina valkoisen miehen maahantuloon saakka henkisestikin mustana. Vielä viime vuosisadan lopulla siellä elettiin kivikauden asteella. Oli opittu viljelemään maissia, bataatteja ja eräitä muitakin syötäviä kasveja, pitämään lehmiä ja vuohia kotieläiminä, rakentamaan savesta ja ruohoista maja kiviluolan tai maakuopan tilalle, varustamaan keihäät ja nuolet terävillä metallikärjillä. Mutta tähän kehitys sitten pysähtyikin ja alkoi vuosituhansia jatkunut "Afrikan pitkä uni". Ei edes auraa eikä pyörää kyetty tänä aikana keksimään. Rummut saivat toimia tiedotusvälineinä, sillä ei pystytty sommittelemaan yksinkertaisimpiakaan kirjoitusmerkkejä. Yhtä ainoata aluetta, Ugandaa lukuunottamatta ei missään kyetty muodostamaan itsenäisiä valtioita tai edes kaupunkeja. Oli vain kyläyhteiskuntia, jotka ryhmittivät toisiaan vastaan alituisesti taisteleviksi heimoiksi. Kylissä kyllä ilmeni pyrkimyksiä jonkinlaiseen kunnallishallintoon, mutta käytännössä seurattiin päälliköiden ja varsinkin poppamiesten määräyksiä. – Tuossa ainoassa poikkeuksessa, Ugandassa, vallitsi vuosisatoja täydellinen [sic] feodaalinen järjestelmä huipulla olevine kuninkaineen. Mutta Ugandan hallitseva luokka lieneekin kulkeutunut neekeri-Afrikkaan Etiopiasta tai Egyptistä. (1954: 112-113)

In the passage above, Simonen claims that Africa south of the Sahara was the only area in the world where no cultural development took place without outside influence. Black Africa was spiritually black as well, and the region, according to him, remained in the level of the Stone Age up to the end of the nineteenth century. It seems that Simonen had either not heard of the old West African empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai, among others, or he decided to ignore this piece of knowledge about African history. His claim that the ruling class of the only existing Negro kingdom, Uganda, had probably arrived in the region from Ethiopia or Egypt, is an example of the "Hamitic hypothesis" (Solanke 1982: 16-17). According to this hypothesis, all achievements in black Africa, such as

the stone walls of Zimbabwe and the bronze sculptures of Benin, are the result of outside influence.

As can be seen from the examples above, colonialist discourse was a well-established phenomenon in Finland as well. More examples of Finnish travel literature written mainly by missionaries can be found in Kaartinen (2004) and Löytty (2006). Fiction about Africa by Finnish writers who have travelled on the continent is a more recent phenomenon, but the same representations and images that characterise earlier travel writing can be found in many such texts, as Kaartinen (2004) has observed. Väinö Lesonen, for example, who worked in development aid projects in East Africa in the 1970s, wrote a novel about development aid workers in Africa. In his novel, Finns are not always depicted in a complimentary light, but Africans are still considered inferior. Consider the following example, where the first-person narrator is a Finnish development aid worker:

Me ollaan vähän kuin ryssiä. Akat paksuja, isoperseisiä punkeroita. Ukot viinan turvottamia turilaita. Tyhmän näköistä porukkaa me ollaan vähäpukeisina. Ei tee mieli ranskattaren rinnalle, mutta neekerin kyllä. Neekeri on niin pirun köyhä. Se on sopusuhtainen vartaloltaan, mutta väri tekee sen köyhän näköiseksi. Se mielletään köyhäksi ja arvottomaksi. Se haiseekin pirun oudolta. (Lesonen 1999: 25-26)

In the excerpt above, Africans are deemed poor and worthless, and they even have a distinctive, strange smell. In the novel, they are also described as lazy, which is a fairly common feature in earlier travel literature as well (Kaartinen 2004: 53-56). Lesonen may of course only reflect the attitudes he encountered among expatriates during his stay in Africa without sharing the opinions himself. Matti Pulkkinen, another modern traveller in East Africa, writes about life in Tanzania in a similar manner:

jos maa olikin kriisissä, kulttuuri selvästi ei; oivallista aikakäsitystänne toteuttaen teikäläiset torkkuivat puiden ja räystäiden varjossa, maata rellottivat verannoilla käsi roikkuen, toinen polvi pystyssä, sylkikupla suupielessä huplattamassa; torimyyjät kellettivät tiskillä kyljellään markiisin alla, puhaltelivat karpäsiä naamaltaan ja välillä leväyttivät haaransa ruopiakseen muniaan; kaikkialla siirtyi suullista traditiota että kalkatus kävi, ja eukkojen naurut hiihahtivat kimakasti, "navan alta", aito sananlaskun mukainen "naisen nauru".

Ahdistavana, Adoro, kävi ajatus, eikö nälänhädän uhkaaman kansasi pitäisi mieluummin olla "kovassa työssä" (Pulkkinen 1985: 219-220)

Views of Africans as lazy, savage and childlike, among others, are a method to define us through the Other, as Kaartinen (2004: 27, 42) points out. The idea of Europe (and Finland) is based on the belief of the inferiority of non-Europeans, as was discussed in section 2.1 above. What astonished Kaartinen when she examined Finnish travel writing from the past one hundred years was its unchanging nature: "Saman kolonialistisen tekstin voi löytää niin vuosisadan alun matkailijan kuin 1990-luvun Afrikan-kävijän kirjoituksista, mutta onhan muuttumattomuuskin mielenkiintoista" (2004: 151).

In addition to Finnish travel writing and fiction, another important source in the construction of images for foreign cultures is translated literature, and the subject of the next subsection is translated colonialist fiction in Finland.

### 2.2.3 Colonialist novels and Finland

Finland is a small linguistic and cultural entity with a fairly long tradition of translating. The emergence of written Finnish in the sixteenth century coincided with the beginning of translational activity. Up to the end of the eighteenth century, the texts translated into Finnish were mainly religious or administrative, but then literary translation became more prominent, and the purpose was often to enrich and develop the Finnish language, which was considered to be too "stiff" for many purposes (Paloposki 2005: 20-21). Even though many Finns today are able to read foreign books in their original languages, especially in English, translated literature has remained important in the literary market in Finland. Translated literary works from other countries are still widely read, and they contribute to the formation of images of other cultures and peoples. Many novels of the Western canon are available in Finnish translation, and they have had a more or less strong influence on the attitudes of Finns towards other parts of the world. I have chosen two novels for a closer study, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902) and Greene's *A Burnt-out Case* (1961), because they are well-known in Finland and they both tell about a Westerner's trip to Africa. In the latter respect, they resemble the Finnish travel literature studied in the subsection above, and it is likely that for the Finnish reader, it is easy to identify with the protagonists of the two novels.

Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* has an important position in the canon of English literature, and it would be hard to discuss the representation of Africa in Western literature without mentioning it. The writer of this short novel, Joseph Conrad (1857-1924), was born in Poland, but later he became a citizen of England. Before starting to

write fiction, he was a sailor, and he travelled to the Congo in 1890. The country was then known as the Congo Free State, and it was the personal property of King Leopold II of Belgium. Conrad was appalled at what he saw during his trip up the River Congo, as little was known in Europe about the conditions in the colony. Soon after Conrad's trip some other travellers in the region wrote about their hideous experiences, and the criticism forced King Leopold II to set up the Commission for the Protection of the Natives in 1896 (Hochschild 1998: 174). Even though not much changed in the Congo Free State, the critical voices in the West started to fade. Conrad is said to have written *Heart of Darkness* to revive the interest in the issue of colonialism and its consequences to the colonised areas. The story was first published chapter by chapter in *Blackwood's Magazine* in England in 1899, and it appeared in book form in the collection *Youth* in 1902.

The protagonist of *Heart of Darkness*, a sailor, Marlow, travels up an unnamed but easily recognisable river in search of a European ivory trader, Kurtz. The novel is written for Western readers as a criticism of colonialism, and Africans have only a marginal role in the narration. As Ward notes, they "take a negative role – they suffer, they are different, they are *unlike*, outside" (1989: 7; emphasis in the original). The following passage is a well-known example of the portrayal of Africa and its people in the novel:

We were wanderers on a prehistoric earth, on an earth that wore the aspect of an unknown planet. We could have fancied ourselves the first men taking possession of an accursed inheritance, to be subdued at the cost of profound anguish and of excessive toil. But suddenly, as we struggled round a bend, there would be a glimpse of rush walls, of peaked grass-roofs, a burst of yells, a whirl of black limbs, a mass of hands clapping, of feet stamping, of bodies swaying, of eyes rolling, under the droop of heavy and motionless foliage. The steamer toiled along slowly on the edge of a black and incomprehensible frenzy. The prehistoric man was cursing us, praying to us, welcoming us – who could tell? We were cut off from the comprehension of our surroundings; we glided past like phantoms, wondering and secretly appalled, as sane men would be before an enthusiastic outbreak in a madhouse. We could not understand because we were too far and could not remember because we were travelling in the night of first ages, of those ages that are gone, leaving hardly a sign – and no memories.

"The earth seemed unearthly. We are accustomed to look upon the shackled form of a conquered monster, but there – there you could look at a thing monstrous and free. It was unearthly, and the men were – No, they were not inhuman. Well, you know, that was the worst of it – this suspicion of their not being inhuman. (Conrad 1983: 105)

The Finnish version of the novel, *Pimeyden sydän*, was translated by Kristiina Kivivuori, and it was first published in 1968. Some evidence of the continuous popularity of *Pimeyden sydän* in Finland is provided by the fact that five editions have been published so far, the latest being a paperback edition published in 2010 by Otava in the Seven series. The original translation by Kivivuori was used in this new edition as well, and consequently, a new generation of readers in Finland can form an image of Africa and its inhabitants through the same translation as readers over forty years ago:

Me olimme vaeltamassa esihistoriallisen maailman keskellä, maailman, joka oli kuin tuntematon planeetta. Olisi voinut kuvitella, että luomakunnan ensimmäiset ihmiset olivat ottamassa haltuunsa kirottua perintöosaansa, joka heidän oli saattaminen valtansa alle pohjattoman tuskan ja kohtuuttoman raadannan hinnalla. Mutta yhtäkkiä, juuri kun ponnistimme jonkin joenmutkan ympäri, saattoi vilahtaa näkyviin kaislaseiniä ja suippoja ruohokattoja, huutoja kuului, näkyi mustien jäsenten pyörteenkaltainen liike, kädet paukuttivat, jalat tömistivät, vartalot keinuivat ja silmät pyörivät – kaikki oli kuin yhtä ja samaa massaa raskaan, liikkumattoman lehvästön varjossa. Laiva ponnisti hitaasti eteenpäin tämän mustan ja käsittämättömän kiihkön ohi. Esihistoriallinen ihminen kirosi meitä, rukoili meitä, lausui meille tervetuloa – kukaties? Meiltä puuttui kyky tajuta ympäristöämme, me liu'uimme ohi aaveiden lailla, ihmetellen ja salaa kauhistuen, kuin ainakin tervemieliset ihmiset nähdessään hurmion purkauksen hullujenhuoneessa. Emme voineet ymmärtää, koska olimme liian kaukana, emme voineet muistaa, koska kuljimme ensimmäisten aikojen yössä, jo menneiden aikojen, jotka ovat tuskin jälkeä jättäneet – muistoja eivät lainkaan.

"Maailma näytti epämaalliselta. Me olimme tottuneet katselemaan lannistettua ja kahlehdittua petoa, mutta siellä – siellä näki jotakin, joka oli pedon kaltainen ja vapaa. Se oli epämaallista, ja ihmiset olivat – ei, epäinhimillisiä he eivät olleet. Sehän siinä pahinta olikin, tiedätekö – juuri tuo epäily, etteivät he olleetkaan epäinhimillisiä. (Conrad 2005: 72-73)

It has been claimed that Conrad was actually not depicting Africa in *Heart of Darkness*. For example, Ward (1989: 20) writes that "Africa becomes the vast reservoir of man's subconsciousness and limitless vitality, a world of origination and ambivalence, cruelty and shame, but in doing so stops being Africa". Hochschild (1998: 143) observes that the novel has traditionally been taught in high schools and colleges

in terms of Freud, Jung, and Nietzsche; of classical myth, Victorian innocence, and original sin; of postmodernism, postcolonialism, and poststructuralism. European and American readers, not comfortable acknowledging the genocidal scale of the killing in Africa at the turn of the century, have cast *Heart of Darkness* loose from its historical moorings. We read it as a parable for all times and places, not as a book about one time and place.

Similarly, in an article about the new edition of the novel in Finland in 2005, the critic Antti Majander (2005: C8) starts by stating that, according to the traditional reading of the story, "sen piti olla mielen sisäinen matka. Kaaokseen ja kauhuun, joka lymyää meissä kaikissa" [it was supposed to be a journey into the mind. Into the chaos and horror which reside inside all of us]. However, even while the setting of *Heart of Darkness* is never mentioned, the clues in the narrative were very clear to the readers of the turn of the twentieth century, as Harrison (2003: 43-45) remarks. Conrad did not want to write a political pamphlet but a piece of literature, and thus he had to follow certain conventions of the genre, with the result that, as Peters (1993: 10) puts it, the novel, "while reflecting Conrad's horror at what the Belgians were doing in the Congo, still helped reinforce the images of Africa as the 'dark continent', cloaking an evil that was almost palpable". And on the cover of the Finnish paperback edition of 2010 there is a picture of Africa, which obviously helps ignorant readers to locate the setting of the novel.

For the Finnish reader, colonialism and the situation in the Congo Free State were and probably still are fairly remote phenomena, even though a Swedish Baptist missionary named E. V. Sjöblom had travelled in the region as early as in 1892 and written critical articles that were published in the Swedish press (Hochschild 1998: 173; Harrison 2003: 40). These articles may have reached Finnish readers. More recently, though, Hochschild's book *King Leopold's Ghost* (1998) may have changed the situation to some extent, as it was published in Finnish in 2004. Majander (2005: C8) as well refers to this book in his article about *Pimeyden sydän* and writes that while the novel can still be read in the traditional way, Hochschild's work shows that Conrad was writing about the reality he saw in the Congo. Still, the historical context of *Heart of Darkness* is probably not clear to the majority of Finnish readers, who may regard it only as a novel of exploration and adventure, an impression which Conrad's racist language (which the Finnish translator faithfully renders into Finnish) may further confirm.

A well-known attack against Conrad came from the Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe (1988: 8-9), who argued that "[t]he real question is the dehumanization of Africa and Africans which this age-long attitude has fostered and continues to foster in the world. And the question is whether a novel which celebrates this dehumanization, which depersonalizes a portion of the human race, can be called a great work of art". Achebe has said in an interview that the novel was one of the incentives that made him start writing:

That is the whole mental attitude that was necessary for colonialism to flourish, in stories, in books. We read those books. [But] the moment comes when the victim realizes [...] reading *Heart of Darkness* and . . . sympathiz[ing] with Marlowe and his crew going down the Congo, that "Oh no, I am not on that boat, I am on the shore. I am one of those savages jumping up and down." The moment you realize that you need to write a different story. And that is what the new African literature is about. It is to retell the story, to change this history of denigration into a more acceptable story. (Granqvist 1990: 31)

Harrison (2003: 2) claims that Achebe's insistence on "the imperial and racial 'discourse'" of Conrad's texts was an important factor in the launching of postcolonial studies. I will return to Achebe and his novels in section 3.4 below.

Harrison (2003) investigates the claims that *Heart of Darkness* is a racist novel and gives much evidence to the contrary. A close reading of the text indeed reveals many instances where Conrad can be said to be very critical of the colonial project, as, for example, in the following excerpt, where Marlow is talking:

"Now when I was a little chap I had a passion for maps. I would look for hours at South America, or Africa, or Australia, and lose myself in all the glories of exploration. At that time there were many blank spaces on the earth [. . .] But there was one yet – the biggest, the most blank, so to speak – that I had a hankering after.

"True, by this time it was not a blank space any more. It had got filled since my boyhood with rivers and lakes and names. It had ceased to be a blank space of delightful mystery – a white patch for a boy to dream gloriously over. It had become a place of darkness. (Conrad 1983: 70-71)

Thus, it can be said that here Conrad turns upside down the traditional notions of white as European and dark as African and suggests that it was only after the arrival of European colonisers that the Congo became "a place of darkness". But as Conrad was writing *Heart of Darkness* at the end of the nineteenth century, Said (1994: 26-27) claims that he

could probably never have used Marlow to present anything other than an imperialist world view, given what was available for either Conrad or Marlow to see of the non-European at the time. Independence was for the whites and Europeans; the lesser or subject peoples were to be ruled; science, learning, history emanated from the West.

Graham Greene (1904-1991) was already an established figure in the literary circles in Britain when he travelled to Africa in 1959 in the footsteps of Conrad to collect

material for the novel *A Burnt-out Case* (1961). The end of the 1950s was the era when colonialism was coming to an end in Africa and new states began to gain independence, for example, Ghana in 1957, Guinea in 1958, the Congo, Nigeria and many French colonies in 1960, and Kenya in 1963. On the literary front, Chinua Achebe's first novel *Things Fall Apart* appeared in 1958.

The protagonist of Greene's *A Burnt-out Case*, Querry, travels up the River Congo like Conrad's Marlow some sixty years earlier. But the world had changed during those decades, and Löytty (1997: 83) sees in Querry the modern subject and last colonialist, who after having reached the limits of material and spiritual success, suffers of burnout and returns to his colonial possessions to die. Greene himself was also suffering of some kind of artistic crisis, and he was thinking that *A Burnt-out Case* might be his last novel (Löytty 1997: 86). The Congo was for him "a region of the mind" (Greene 1974: vii), as he states in the dedication to the novel, and Africa was for him only the background against which the protagonist tried to recover from his mental crisis. But as Greene usually strove for realistic presentation of his settings (Löytty 1997: 86), it is worth investigating how he represented Africa and its inhabitants in *A Burnt-out Case*. The Finnish target versions provided below are intended to simply illustrate how the colonialist discourse is rendered into Finnish.

A traditional method in the othering of Africans is to keep them out of the focus of the narrative, as if they were only objects in the background reminding of the exotic setting. They are often described as a group where the members are interchangeable. A good example of this is found already in the first paragraph of *A Burnt-out Case*:

The two of them had been alone together on the river for ten days – alone, that is to say, except for the six members of the African crew and the dozen or so deck-passengers who changed, almost indistinguishably, at each village where they stopped. (Greene 1974: 1)

Miehet olivat olleet kahden joella kymmenen päivää – kahden lukuunottamatta kuutta afrikkalaista laivamiestä ja kymmenkuntaa kansimatkustajaa, jotka vaihtuivat miltei samanlaisiin jokaisessa kylässä, minne he pysähtyivät. (Greene 1961: 11)

Traditionally, Africa was considered to be empty, and thus it did not belong to anybody before Europeans occupied it. Greene repeats this myth when he writes:



There was little in the forest to appeal to the romantic. It was completely empty. It had never been humanised, like the woods of Europe, with witches and charcoal-burners and cottages of marzipan; no one had ever walked under these trees lamenting lost love, nor had anyone listened to the silence and communed like a lake-poet with his heart. (Greene 1974: 57-58)

Viidakossa ei ollut juuri mitään romantikkoo ilahduttavaa. Se oli täysin tyhjä. Se oli toisenlainen kuin Euroopan metsät: sitä ei koskaan ollut inhimillistetty noidilla, miilunpolttajilla ja piparkakkutaloilla; kukaan ei koskaan ollut kävellyt näiden puiden alla valitellen pettynyttä rakkautta eikä kukaan ollut kuunnellut hiljaisuutta ja keskustellut sydämensä kanssa kuten järvikoulun runoilija. (Greene 1961: 69)

In this passage, African forests were not supposed to have witches in spite of the common belief that witchcraft was widespread in Africa. In addition, as Ward (1989: 67) observes, "Greene himself must have known that some African forests were not empty of the accumulated emotion of fable and fantasy, if only through Amos Tutuola, whose work had received such acclaim in European literary circles during the 1950s and after." (See section 3.4 below.)

Africa is a dark continent, an opposite to the lights of Europe, as Greene describes it in the following excerpt:

This was the moment he feared; prayers were of no avail to heal the darkness. The Superior's words had reawakened his longing for Europe. Liège might be an ugly and brutal city, but there was no hour of night when a man, lifting his curtain, could not see a light shining on the opposite wall of the street or perhaps a late passer-by going home. Here at ten o'clock, when the dynamos ceased working, it needed an act of faith to know that the forest had not come up to the threshold of the room. (Greene 1974: 98)

Tämä oli hetki, jota hän pelkäsi; rukoukset eivät auttaneet pimeyttä vastaan. Priorin sanat olivat herättäneet uudestaan hänen kaipauksensa Eurooppaan. Liège [sic] saattoi olla ruma ja karkea kaupunki, mutta siellä ei ollut yhtäkään yön tuntia, jolloin ei mies olisi verhoaan nostaessaan voinut nähdä valon loistavan kadun toisella puolella tai myöhäisen ohikulkijan kävelevän kotiin. Kello kymmeneltä, kun dynamos lakkasivat toimimasta, täällä vaadittiin uskoa: miten voi tietää, ettei aarniometsä ollut tullut huoneen kynnykselle asti? (Greene 1961: 114)

Africa is presented in *A Burnt-out Case* as a sick continent, which leaves its disfiguring mark on everything. Thus a European family who have stayed there for a long time are described as having

sickly albino skins that came from years of heat and humidity (Greene 1974: 5)

sairaalloinen albiinoiho, joka johtui vuosikausien kuumuudesta ja kosteudesta (Greene 1961: 15)

In accordance with the sickness of Africa, the leprosy that is treated in the hospital where Querry stays becomes a metonymy of Africa, and the smell of lepers is the smell of the continent:

in all the years he had never become quite accustomed to the sweet gangrenous smell of certain leprous skins, and it had become to him the smell of Africa. (Greene 1974: 12)

kaikkina näinä vuosina hän ei ollut täysin tottunut siihen makeaan kuolion hajuun, jota tietty spitaalinen iho levitti, ja se oli alkanut merkitä hänelle Afrikan hajua. (Greene 1961: 22)

The language of Africans is strange and incomprehensible. Their

laughter was like the unknown syllables of an enemy tongue. (Greene 1974: 9)

nauru kuulosti viholliskielen käsittämättömiltä tavuilta. (Greene 1961: 18)

And finally, Africa resists the progress of civilisation, which can be seen in the likely fate of roads:

After a few years of complete neglect the road would have disappeared completely and forever. The forest would soon convert it to a surface scrawl, like the first scratches on a wall of early man, and there would remain then reptiles, insects, a few birds and primates, and perhaps the pygmoids – the only human beings in the forest who had the capacity to survive without a road. (Greene 1974: 28)

Jos tie olisi jäänyt täysin vaille hoitoa muutamaksi vuodeksi, se olisi kadonnut tykkänään ja ainiaaksi. Aarniometsä olisi pian muuttanut sen pinnalliseksi piirroksi, samanlaiseksi kuin muinaisihmisen ensimmäiset kallioseinänsä raapustamat viivat, ja sitten olisi ollut jäljellä matelijoita, hyönteisiä, muutamia lintuja ja kädellisiä ja kenties pygmoideja – ainoat ihmisolennot aarniometsässä, jotka pystyivät elämään ilman tietä. (Greene 1961: 38)

The intertextuality of *A Burnt-out Case* is indicated by the many references to its predecessors in the colonialist literature. Consider the following:

Unconscious and burning with fever, I was carried on shore from my pirogue, the frail bark in which I had penetrated what Joseph Conrad called The Heart of

Darkness, by a few faithful natives who had followed me down the great river with the same fidelity their grandfathers had shown to Stanley. (Greene 1974: 154)

Tiedottomana ja polttavassa kuumeessa minut kannettiin maihin kanootistani, siitä hauraasta purresta, missä olin tunkeutunut Pimeyden sydämeen, kuten Joseph Conrad sanoi, ja minua kantoivat ne muutamat rehelliset alkuasukkaat, jotka olivat seuranneet minua pitkin suurta virtaa osoittaen samaa uskollisuutta kuin heidän isoisänsä olivat osoittaneet Stanleyille. (Greene 1961: 175)

The following is a clear allusion to Conrad:

the stream [. . .] out of the heart of Africa, towards the far-off sea. (Greene 1974: 23)

virtaa [. . .] African sydäimestä etäistä merta kohti. (Greene 1961: 33)

Löytty (1997: 107) claims that in *A Burnt-out Case*, Africa resembles its former representations, since the intertextuality of the colonialist discourse forms a circle where observation is conditioned by former representations, and it in turn is represented according to the old models (this phenomenon could also explain the unchanging nature of Finnish travel writing which Kaartinen [2004: 151] noticed in her study; see subsection 2.2.2 above). But Africa has changed, and Querry does not find what he came to look for. Yet at the end of the novel, before his tragic death, Querry finds a new start, as he begins to plan buildings for the village where he is staying (he is an architect by profession). Löytty (1997: 111) suggests that the last colonialist could thus be seen as the first development aid worker as well. The departure of the colonial master then ushered in the postcolonial era, when the story-telling was mainly left to the Africans themselves. The theme of the following chapter is the English-language literature produced in West Africa from the colonial times to the present day.

### 3. The West African novel and the English language

#### 3.1 The West African novel

The literary genre of the novel is a European invention, and African writers adopted it from Europeans, probably as a result of colonial education (Fludernik 2012: 928). In West Africa as in other pre-literate societies around the world the main literary genre before colonisation was oral literature, which is characterised by such narrative techniques as proverbs, riddles and repetition. Also written literature has been produced in West Africa for centuries, but, as described in section 2.1 above, until the 20th century it was mainly written by European settlers in the West African colonies. In addition, there was also a tradition of writing in Arabic in Islamic countries like Mali and Senegal (Gérard 1981: xii). When European missionaries started to arrive in Africa, they wanted to translate the Bible and other holy texts into African languages, and therefore orthography was developed for some important indigenous languages. Such West African languages as Ashanti, Ewe, Igbo and Yoruba were written down by the end of the nineteenth century (Awoonor 1975: 129), and the earliest literary works in these languages were usually religious. Prose fiction in indigenous languages also made its appearance. One of the best-known early novels was Daniel Olorunfemi Fagunwa's *Ogboju Ode Ninu Igbo Irunmale* ("The brave hunter in the forest of embodied spirits"), which was based on Yoruba folklore and published in 1938. The text was translated into English by Wole Soyinka and published in 1968 as *The Forest of a Thousand Daemons: A Hunter's Saga* (Gérard 1981: 249).

The first English-language book by a black West African writer was probably the autobiography of a former slave, Equiano, titled *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa the African*, which was published in 1789. In the next century, there was *A History of Sierra Leone* (1868) by A. B. C. Sibthorpe, and *History of the Gold Coast and the Asante Peoples* (1895) by C. C. Reindorf (Young 1971: 165). A common feature of these books is that they all are non-fiction. Young (1971: 166) suggests that the emergence of fiction from West Africa was concomitant with the growth of nationalism. The first novel in French written by a black African writer is considered to be René Maran's *Batouala* from 1921 (Booker 1998: 55), even though Maran was born in Martinique. On the anglophone side of the linguistic divide

in West Africa, a text titled *Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation* and described as “half propaganda and half the progenitor of the culture-conflict novel” (Young 1973: 27) was published as early as in 1911. The writer of this prose narrative was Ghanaian Joseph E. Casely-Hayford, and another author from the same country, R. E. Obeng, wrote the first full-length West African novel in English, *Eighteenpence*, which was published in 1943 (Young 1973: 30). Later, Ghanaian novelists like Ayi Kwei Armah and Ama Ata Aidoo have risen into prominence.

The first generation of Nigerian novelists writing in English started to publish their works in the 1950s and 1960s. It includes writers like Chinua Achebe, Cyprian Ekwensi, Flora Nwapa, Onuora Nzekwu, Gabriel Okara, Wole Soyinka and Amos Tutuola. The second generation of Nigerian writers were mainly born during the colonial era, but they started their writing careers many years after the attainment of independence in Nigeria in 1960. Prominent names among them are Buchi Emecheta, Eddie Iroh, Festus Iyayi and Ben Okri. With the new millenium, the third generation of Nigerian novelists emerged. The best-known among them are Chris Abani, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Sefi Atta and Helon Habila.

For many West African authors, an important motivation for writing fiction has been to enhance the decolonisation of their respective countries and the whole of the African continent. For centuries it was the colonisers who wrote stories about Africa, as was seen in Chapter 2 above. Before and after the gaining of independence in West African countries, it was the aim of the local people to “take back their own narrative” (Achebe 2000: 44). Since the history of European writing about Africa is filled with ignorance and racist stereotypes, one important aim of African writers has been to redress the stereotypical colonial images of Africa and its inhabitants. For example, Achebe (1973: 8) has written that

as far as I am concerned the fundamental theme must first be disposed of. This theme – put quite simply – is that African people did not hear of culture for the first time from Europeans; that their societies were not mindless but frequently had a philosophy of great depth and value and beauty, that they had poetry and, above all, they had dignity. It is this dignity that many African people all but lost during the colonial period and it is this that they must now regain. The worst thing that can happen to any people is the loss of their dignity and self-respect. The writer’s duty is to help them regain it by showing them in human terms what happened to them, what they lost.

Another prominent concern in West African writing has been disillusionment after the gaining of independence. This is due to neo-colonialism, political instability, widespread corruption, and the deterioration of living conditions for the majority of the populace living on the subcontinent. More recently, emigration to Western countries and questions about identity have become important themes in anglophone West African novels.

### **3.2 The English language and African experience**

Historical development in West Africa contributed to the spread of English into this area, as the English were prominent among the explorers who arrived to this region in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Contacts between local inhabitants and Europeans led to the emergence of Pidgin English as a trade language along the coastal regions. Gradually, English gained a more important role as the colonisation of the region proceeded. Even decades after the colonial era ended, English has maintained its prominent position as the sole or one of the official languages in the former British colonies in West Africa, which are the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria and a part of Cameroon. In addition, Liberia, where former slaves and their descendants were returned from the United States and the Caribbean in the nineteenth century and which was officially recognised as independent in 1847, belongs to the anglophone group of West African states. The majority of the population in these countries, however, speak some other language as their mother tongue, and English is usually learned at school.

English has retained its position as the language of administration, education, business and media partly because there are hundreds of different languages spoken in Africa south of the Sahara and political and ethnic reasons have favoured the official status of English in the former British colonies. Thus, these countries have a situation of *diglossia*, which according to Zabus (1991: 13) is

generally understood as one in which the linguistic functions of communication are distributed in a binary fashion between a culturally prestigious language with a written tradition and spoken by a minority, and another language, generally widely spoken but devoid of prestige. The latter is, in numerous cases, a dialect of the prestige tongue.

This definition describes the situation in anglophone West Africa accurately: there (standard) English is mainly used for official purposes, while pidgin serves many other

functions in everyday life. Zabus, however, wants to expand her definition to make it better suit the West African linguistic environment, where diglossia can also involve unrelated languages, for example, English and indigenous languages, and where the written-oral divide does not always prevail, as some African languages have written literatures of their own. In addition, Zabus wants to introduce the term *polyglossia* to describe linguistic situations where more than one language are in a dominant position simultaneously, for example, the situation seen in Senegal where Wolof “can be considered as hegemonic as French and would thus be in diglossia with a minor language like Ndût” (Zabus 1991: 14). The term *diglossia* was introduced to linguistics in 1959 by Charles A. Ferguson, who modelled it after the Greek word for “bilingualism” (Zabus 1991: 13). However, these two terms, *diglossia* and *bilingualism*, are not synonyms, because “diglossia is the result of a social situation whereas bilingualism and polyglottism are individual practices. A writer may thus be monolingual and yet live in a situation of diglossia” (Zabus 1991: 15).

In multilingual societies, writers of fiction face the problem of language choice. For various reasons, many black West African writers preferred European languages to indigenous ones. With increasing educational opportunities, a tiny group of highly educated black Africans emerged who could use the languages of the colonial rulers for the creation of literature. Writing in English, French or Portuguese would guarantee a much wider potential readership for their work than writing in the indigenous languages, such as Akan, Igbo, Wolof or Yoruba. Even though speakers of some indigenous languages could be counted in millions, illiteracy was high among Africans, and their financial situation would often prevent the buying of books. Such conditions continue to plague the literary markets in Africa even today, which partly explains the continuing popularity of writing in the European languages, in spite of the subcontinent’s gaining of independence over half a century ago, and the criticism writers are facing for using the languages of the former colonial masters. One of such early critics was the Nigerian Obiajunwa Wali (2007: 282; originally published in 1963), who wrote that

the whole uncritical acceptance of English and French as the inevitable medium for educated African writing, is misdirected and has no chance of advancing African literature and culture. In other words, until these writers and their western midwives accept the fact that any true African literature must be written in African languages, they would be merely pursuing a dead end, which can only lead to sterility, uncreativity, and frustration.

Consequently, many West African writers have felt uneasy when using the colonial languages to express their concerns.

Achebe (1975: 103) has tried to solve the language problem through a new type of English which would release the language from its imperial past: "I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit new African surroundings." In spite of such comments, most anglophone West African writers have traditionally been wary of using nonstandard language in their literary production, as such practice was often criticised, for example, by the academic establishment (Gérard 1981: iii). A few indigenous words were acceptable to provide local colour, but the use of standard English was considered the norm in early anglophone West African writing. A new type of writing, however, had already emerged with the "Onitsha novels", small booklets written in unorthodox English and sold in the Onitsha market in Nigeria. The first booklets appeared in 1947, and the stories in these so-called popular pamphlets were meant to educate and entertain. A review of the properties of the Onitsha market literature is found, for example, in Obiechina (1973).

In the 1960s, a few writers started to experiment with European languages to give a more African feeling to their writing. The pioneers in this field are considered to be Gabriel Okara from Nigeria and Ahmadou Kourouma from Ivory Coast (*Les Soleils des indépendences* 1968). Okara, who is better known as a poet, has published only one novel, *The Voice* (1964). He inserted words from his native Ijaw into the text, but his innovation was the "literal translation" of Ijaw syntax and idioms into English. Consequently, the syntactic structure in some parts of *The Voice* derives from Ijaw, while the words are in English, resulting in a text in which the language is recognisably English but also something else. Consider an example of Okara's original style in the following passage from *The Voice*:

Shuffling feet turned Okolo's head to the door. He saw three men standing silent, opening not their mouths. 'Who are you people be?' Okolo asked. The people opened not their mouths. 'If you are coming-in people be, then come in.' The people opened not their mouths. 'Who are you?' Okolo again asked, walking to the men. As Okolo closer to the men walked, the men quickly turned and ran out. (1975: 26-27)

Okara (1973: 137) has justified his linguistic experimentation by claiming that "the only way to use [African ideas] effectively is to translate them almost literally from the



African language native to the writer into whatever European language he is using as his medium of expression". In spite of his comment about the necessity to bend English in this manner, *The Voice* was received with mixed feelings among the critics.

Twenty years later, another Nigerian writer, Ken Saro-Wiwa, wrote a novel in nonstandard English: *Sozaboy: a Novel in Rotten English* (1985). Saro-Wiwa, who was executed by the Nigerian government in 1995 because of his political activism, deemed English a viable medium for African literature:

With regard to English I have heard it said that those who write in it should adopt a domesticated 'African' variety of it. I myself have experimented with the three varieties of English spoken and written in Nigeria: pidgin, 'rotten' and standard. I have used them in poetry, short story, essays, drama, and the novel. [. . .] That which carries best and which is most popular is standard English, expressed simply and lucidly. It communicates and expresses thoughts and ideas perfectly.

And so I remain a convinced practitioner and consumer of African literature in English. I am content that this language has made me a better African in the sense that it enables me to know more about Somalia, Kenya, Malawi and South Africa than I would otherwise have known. (1992: 157)

Saro-Wiwa thus considers anglophone African literature a valuable means for increasing knowledge about life and culture across national borders in Africa, and this comment also shows that this type of literature is not written only for audiences in the Western countries but for Africans as well.

The different methods that West African writers have used to manipulate, i.e. africanise the English of their creative work will be studied in the section below.

### **3.3 Authorial techniques for africanising English**

Co-existence of English and indigenous languages in anglophone West African countries has led, not only to the diglossic situation described in the section above but also to the mixing of the two codes in the everyday life of the people, resulting in the development of new linguistic varieties. Similarly, the English of West African literary texts may not conform to the linguistic norms of the imperial centre, as the multilingual reality of the region is often reflected in the fiction emanating from West Africa. Authors may also invent their own idiosyncratic linguistic varieties to better portray the linguistic and cultural background of their respective home countries or for other literary purposes. The mixing of an indigenous language and English can be called *hybridisation*, and the

resulting texts can be called *hybrid texts*. Zabus (1991) uses the metaphor of a palimpsest to describe the process where an African author writes a European-language text on top of a mother-tongue text as it were, so that traces of the original 'writing' are still visible in the European-language text. Barber (1995: 11) criticises Zabus and her palimpsest metaphor for attaching too much importance to West African literature written in the languages of the (former) colonial masters, pointing out that

the model proposed by postcolonial criticism – the model in which colonial glottophagia silences the native until he or she masters and subverts the colonizer's language – is based on a fundamental misconception, almost a will to ignorance. By casting the indigenous as always and only outside or underneath the "mainstream" literary discourses of modern Africa, it turns a blind eye to what is in fact the actual mainstream, the cultural discourses of the majority, in most of Africa.

This is a valid point, as literature in indigenous languages has been and continues to be written in many parts of Africa.

Zabus (1991: 5) argues that, for West African writers, "indigenization is primarily an attempt at subverting the dominance of the European language". Anglophone writers have been more prominent in the use of africanising techniques than francophone writers, which, according to Zabus (1991: 19-20, 23), is the result of French colonial policies of assimilation and language repression in Africa. French was promoted at the expense of local languages, which restricted the emergence of linguistic varieties comparable to, for example, Pidgin English. Admittedly, there exists a Pidgin French called Pitinègue or Pitineg, from *petit nègre* (Zabus 1991: 47), but it has not developed into a proper lingua franca, and it is rarely used in francophone West African literature (Zabus 1991: 92-96).

Zabus (1991) describes the techniques that europhone West African novelists have employed to africanise or indigenise the former colonisers' languages: writers can insert words and phrases from African languages into a European-language text (*visible traces* in accordance with the palimpsest metaphor); they can translate almost literally from their mother tongues, so that the resulting syntactic structures are African but the words are in a European language (*relexification*); and they can use some type of pidgin (*pidginisation*).

A detailed classification of authorial techniques to africanise the English language in West African novels is offered, for example, by Igboanusi (2001), who distinguishes seven techniques in Nigerian literature written by Igbo writers: borrowing, loan-blends,

coinages, translation equivalents, semantic extension, collocational extension and colloquialisms. Igboanusi centres on the influence of Igbo on English-language texts, but his classification is likely to work for other language pairs as well. His seven techniques are described in subsection 3.3.4 below, after the authorial techniques presented by Zabuss (1991), that is, the insertion of words from African languages, relexification and pidginisation, have been presented in subsections 3.3.1-3.3.3.

### 3.3.1 Insertion of words from African languages

Many West African writers have a habit of sprinkling African-language words and phrases into their literary works. Reasons for such a practice can be a wish to add local colour to the text or the lack of a suitable word (a semantic gap) in the European language to convey the denotative meaning of the African-language word. Especially names of culture-bound objects and events may lack a suitable equivalent in the metropolitan language and so the West African writer feels compelled to use an African-language lexical item instead. Consider the following example:

When we had travelled for two weeks, I began to see the leaves which were suitable for the preparation of my **juju**, then we stopped and prepared four kinds which could save us whenever and wherever we met any dangerous creatures. (PWD 107; emphasis added)

The author of the text does not explain the meaning of *juju*, probably because the word is widely used in West Africa, and it is also possible in this case to infer its approximate meaning from the context as some substance connected to traditional magic.

If the African cultural element is known only in the writer's home region and he or she has a wider audience in mind, some kind of an explanation of the foreign element may be considered necessary to ensure intelligibility, even within Africa. Achebe, for example, uses many Igbo words and phrases in his first novel *Things Fall Apart* (1958), and he explains the meanings of some of them in English as in the following example: "He even remembered how he had laughed when Ikemefuna told him that the proper name for a corn-cob with only a few scattered grains was *eze-agadi-nwayi*, or the teeth of an old woman" (1982: 25; italics in the original). Thus, Achebe adds an explanatory tag to the Igbo phrase. This method is called *cushioning* by Young (1973: 39), who borrowed the term from Howard Stone (1953). As Young observes, tagging an

explanation to African words often disturbs the fluent reading of a text and may lead to a formal style seen in some African novels.

An author known to write in a rather awkward style is the Nigerian Onuora Nzekwu, whose novel *Wand of Noble Wood* (1961) contains many long explanations of different Igbo cultural features. The following passage from the novel is an exchange between three friends where the ignorance of one of them is also used to inform non-Igbo readers of the meaning of an *ofo* stick:

"You mentioned *ofo* staff a little while ago," Nora said.

"Does it mean anything more than the symbol of priesthood?"

"Yes," I said. "It is a means whereby the priest comes in contact with ancestral spirits and communes with them. Whoever takes charge of the *ofo* is regarded as the abode of ancestral spirits."

"What does it look like?"

"It is a short piece of stick," Reg explained, "cut from the *ofo* plant (*Detarium Senegalese*), which, when consecrated, is a symbol of authority and a guarantee of truth. Freshly obtained, it is consecrated and becomes dynamized. There are different kinds of *ofo* - the family *ofo*, which is the one we are now discussing; the personal *ofo*; the *ofo* used by medicine men; the cult *ofo*; and so on. The family *ofo* are of two types: that of the men and that of the women. Both are used in invoking relative ancestral spirits, in the administration of oaths, in effecting curses on people who have offended grievously, and in warding off evil. The staff is regarded with awe and is believed to be more powerful than poison or black magic. (1961: 33; italics in the original)

An explanation where even the Latin name of the *ofo* plant is mentioned can be called "over-cushioning" (Zabus 1991: 158). If cushioning is used to the extent as seen in the example above, a fictional text may start to resemble an anthropological study of the writer's culture instead of a literary work.

In addition to cushioning, writers may explain African cultural elements in paratexts, as in footnotes or glossaries. For example, a glossary of Igbo words and phrases was added to the reprint of Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) in 1967; and among the novels that form the material of this study, *Changes: A Love Story* (1991) by Aidoo and *The Interpreters* (1965) by Soyinka have a glossary. Translators, too, may explain unfamiliar cultural material by adding glosses and annotations to target texts, in order to enhance the understanding of source-cultural features. This translation method is called "thick translation", a term coined by Appiah (2000), in analogy with thick description used in anthropology. The purpose of thick translation is "to locate the [target] text in a rich cultural and linguistic context" (Appiah 2000: 427).

The multilingual context in West African literature may result in some confusion concerning the language that English is supposed to represent. It is customary that when characters in a literary work speak in African languages, their utterances are represented in standard English. If the author has not indicated the use of indigenous languages by, for example, adding in parenthesis that the utterance was in a local language (or in English or French, which would mean that the other utterances were in another language), the reader has to infer this from the context. When there is an instance of nonstandard English in an otherwise standard English dialogue, it can be a *trace within a trace* (Zabus 1991), i.e. an English-language word or expression inserted in a dialogue that “really” takes place in an indigenous language. This phenomenon can be seen in the following example:

“**Gudu morni.** Have you woken up, eh? Did you rise well?”

“**Gudu morni.** Did the people of your house rise well, oh?” (PHIB 58; emphasis added)

The norm of writing African-language utterances in standard English has confused many critics as well, when they have blamed some authors for being inconsistent in their language use (Zabus 1991: 55-56, 78, 89-90).

The methods employed by West African authors when explaining African-language words in their texts give clues to what kind of an audience they had in mind when they wrote their works. As Tymoczko (1999b: 29) observes,

[i]n post-colonial writing the amount of cultural material that is explained explicitly serves as a kind of index of the intended audience and of the cultural gradient between the writer/subject and the audience, with greater amounts of explicit material indicating that a text is aimed at the former colonizers and/or a dominant international audience. In such cases cultural background is, so to speak, explicitly 'frontloaded' for the reader.

The presence of African-language words in an English-language novel may also signal that the European language cannot always convey African culture and experience adequately, contrary to Achebe's (1975: 103) claim that English would “be able to carry the weight of [his] African experience” (see section 3.2 above).

### 3.3.2 Relexification

Relexification, according to Zabus (1991: 102), is a process where “a ‘new’ language is being forged as a result of the particular language-contact situation in West Africa and the artist’s imaginative use of that situation”. An example of this authorial technique is the passage from *The Voice* in section 3.2 above, where Okara writes: “Shuffling feet turned Okolo’s head to the door. He saw three men standing silent, opening not their mouths” (1975: 26). Zabus, however, is wary about identifying relexification with translation, and one of her arguments to support her view is that “relexification is characterized by the absence of an original” (Zabus 1991: 106). This may be true, but some African novelists have nevertheless described their writing process as ‘translating’, for example Okara (1973) cited in section 3.2 above. It could be suggested that even when there is no written African-language original version, there may exist an invisible mental source ‘text’, the remnants of which are visible in the European-language text. Zabus (1991: 106) agrees with this idea, and it is the reason behind her wish to retain the notions of source and target language in connection with relexification. Auto-translation, or the author translating a written source text into another language him- or herself, is rare; few African writers so far have practised this activity, Ngugi wa Thiong’o from Kenya being the best known among those who do.

Zabus (1991: 113) wants to distinguish between conscious and unconscious indigenisation, which techniques she calls relexification and calquing, respectively. She considers Tutuola’s *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* (1952) a text that results from calquing, because Tutuola did not use deviant English deliberately; instead, he wrote in the only English he knew. However, Zabus (1991: 107) claims that relexification “takes place [. . .] between two languages within the same text”. This definition covers *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* as well: it is a text that combines English and Yoruba, as English words are used in a linguistic structure that resembles Yoruba (Afoyalan 1975: 198), as can be seen in the following example:

After that we started to travel again, but we did not travel more than a mile in that bush before we reached a large river which crossed our way to pass; when we reached there, we could not enter it, because it was very deep as we were looking at it and noticing that there was no canoe or other thing with which to cross it. When we had stopped there for a few minutes, we travelled to our right along the bank of this river as perhaps we might reach the end of it, but we travelled more than four miles without seeing the end at all. (PWD 65)

To further counter the classification by Zabus, *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* does not have a source text, as could be expected of a text that results from calquing. Consequently, I will analyse *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* together with the other eleven texts that form my material without trying to distinguish between intentional and unintentional authorial techniques.

According to Zabus (1991: 102), relexification should be seen as part of the larger strategies of decolonisation, as the europhone literary language that is "wrung out of the African tongue" (Zabus 1991: 103) is no longer the "'metropolitan' English or French [. . .] but an unfamiliar European language that constantly suggests another tongue" (Zabus 1991: 103). This method to africanise the artistic language binds the text and its characters into a specific ethnicity, in contrast to the method of pidginisation, where the aim is for the characters to leave behind the rural, ethnic background in favour of a modern, urban identity. Therefore, relexification is a more common feature in novels that are set in a rural environment. Zabus (1991: 107) has also noticed that this device is more frequent in literary works where oral techniques (such as repetition) are a prominent feature, which she explains as resulting from the fact that the "source languages" in such texts have remained mainly oral.

### 3.3.3 Pidginisation

Languages called pidgins and creoles have existed for centuries, but not much linguistic interest has been devoted to them until fairly recently. A pidgin is a contact language which no one speaks as his or her first language (Thomason 2008: 243). Holm (1988: 3-4) defines a pidgin as being

a reduced language that results from extended contact between groups of people with no language in common; it evolves when they need some means of verbal communication, perhaps for trade, but no group learns the native language of any other group for social reasons that may include lack of trust or of close contact.

When a pidgin becomes the mother tongue of a person, linguists call it a creole. Pidgins and creoles had a marginal position in linguistic research, Hymes (1981: 3) claims, partly because of their origin and attitudes towards them, and partly because of a lack of knowledge about them. Pidgins and creoles were associated with

poorer and darker members of a society, and through perpetuation of misleading stereotypes – such as that a pidgin is merely a broken or baby-talk version of another language – most interest, even where positive, has considered them merely curiosities. Much of the interest and information, scholarly as well as public, has been prejudicial. These languages have been considered, not creative adaptations, but degeneration; not systems in their own right, but deviations from other systems. Their origins have been explained, not by historical and social forces, but by inherent ignorance, indolence, and inferiority. Not the least of the crimes of colonialism has been to persuade the colonized that they, or ways in which they differ, are inferior – to convince the stigmatized that the stigma is deserved. Indigenous languages, and especially pidgins and creoles, have suffered in this respect. Rarely would a speaker of a pidgin or creole think the idiom deserving of the prestige of being an object of serious description, of being written and studied. (Hymes 1981: 3)

The origin of pidgin languages is not clear, and different theories about their development have been presented. Wren (1981: xx-xxi) advocates the belief that all pidgins and creoles derive from an early Mediterranean lingua franca called Sabir which sailors of different linguistic backgrounds were using on board the ships at least from the thirteenth century onwards. Probably the most important language in the development of Sabir was Portuguese, and as evidence of the world-wide spread of words from Portuguese, Wren mentions the word *palaver* ('controversy'; Wren 1981: xxv), which is a very old pidgin word derived from Portuguese *palavra* 'word'. This word is known in pidgins in Asia, Africa and America, which Wren (1981: xxii) claims proves that pidgins have a common origin. Zabus (1991: 48-49) divides the theories of the origin of pidgins into polygenetic and monogenetic theories. According to polygenetic theories, "each Pidgin is genetically related to the corresponding standard (Indo-European) language, from which it diverged under the influence of a similar sociolinguistic situation" (Zabus 1991: 48). Such situations were most common between masters and servants, and between merchants and customers. Pidgin began as "baby-talk", which means the simplified mode of speech adults may use when they speak to young children in order to help them understand what the adults say (Ferguson 1981: 143). The monogenetic theory for the origin of pidgin, which corresponds to Wren's Sabir theory, is also called the relexification theory because it is believed that the Portuguese vocabulary was replaced by the vocabularies of French, English, Spanish or Dutch when these nations started to compete with the Portuguese over the control of trade in Africa, Asia and America since the fifteenth century (Todd 1984: 23).



Kouwenberg and Singler (2008: 7) state that the origin of pidgin is still unclear, as “no single mechanism fully accounts for pidgin and creole genesis”.

In West Africa, English-derived pidgins were first used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in trade and colonial contacts between people who spoke different languages. These auxiliary languages were also called "Wes-Kos" because they were spoken mainly along the West African coast. Pidgins in West Africa are believed to have a mainly European-language vocabulary while syntactical patterns are derived from African languages (Mafeni 1971: 102-103). In Thomason's (2008: 243) words, “[t]he lexicon of the pidgin may, and usually does, come primarily from one of the languages in contact, called the lexifier language; the grammar, crucially, does not come primarily from that language or from any other single language”. Pidgin English developed into a language that was connected to illiteracy or semi-literacy, and it is unintelligible to native speakers of English. As Thomason (2008: 244) observes, pidgin has its own lexical and grammatical features, and speakers of the lexifier language cannot “speak the pidgin simply by producing ad-hoc simplified utterances using the pidgin's vocabulary. Instead, each speaker of the pidgin must learn its lexical and grammatical structures in order to speak it”.

While there are many people in West Africa for whom pidgin is the only variety of English they know, standard Nigerian English is also widely used in Nigeria. This variety does not differ much from standard British or American English, and it is the official language of the federal state. Educated people of different ethnic backgrounds may use it as a lingua franca, and even people who share the same mother tongue may occasionally resort to it. An increasing number of especially young people in urban areas are able to speak pidgin, standard English and one or more Nigerian languages, and they can switch between these codes according to the circumstance (Mafeni 1971: 98), i.e. use a strategy known as code-switching, which means that a speaker uses more than one language or language variety during a conversation.

According to Spencer (1971: 6), pidgin and the mother tongue have their special roles in the lives of many West Africans which standard English cannot replace. Zabuz (1991: 82) notes that “[a]s the language of informality, relaxation and lack of inhibition, Pidgin has a cathartic function and is thus likely to come up in emotionally charged or tense situations”. An example of this can be seen in Achebe's novel *A Man of the People* (1966), when the first-person narrator Odili comes to see his friend Maxwell, feeling sad and disappointed. Both Odili and Maxwell are Igbos, and they can speak standard

English as well. However, as Maxwell wants to show sympathy to his friend, he switches from standard English to pidgin:

'Good gracious!' Max shouted, shaking my hand violently. 'Diligent! Na your eye be this?' (MOP 82).

As can be seen in the example above, pidgin has become a legitimate register in literature as well, and it may also have extra-linguistic functions, for example, in establishing a character's identity and membership in a social group (Zabus 1991: 79). Pidgin is commonly used in characterisation, as an indication that a person belongs to the lower strata of society. Educated characters usually speak standard English, but they may resort to code-switching in certain situations, for example, when they want to show group solidarity or when they talk with people who cannot speak standard English. In Achebe's second novel, *No Longer at Ease* (1976 [1960]: 100), one of the characters is described as being very conscious of the use of a suitable code:

Whether Christopher spoke good or 'broken' English depended on what he was saying, where he was saying it, to whom and how he wanted to say it. Of course that was to some extent true of most educated people, especially on Saturday nights. But Christopher was rather outstanding in thus coming to terms with a double heritage.

Joyce Cary's *Mister Johnson* (1939) was one of the first attempts to represent pidgin in the literature of West Africa. Since then, especially Nigerian writers have used pidgin as a stylistic device. Pidgin is considered an indicator of humour, and it is associated with semi-literate lower classes in society. Cyprian Ekwensi's *Jagua Nana* (1961) is set in Lagos, and its eponymous main character communicates mainly in pidgin. This has led Zabus (1991: 66) to call her "the first full-fledged Pidgin creation in West African fiction". For *Jagua Nana*, the mother tongue is a reminder of the life left behind in the countryside, and pidgin represents "the prestige language of urban integration" (Zabus 1991: 70). However, it can be claimed that the pidgin in Ekwensi's novel retains only the superficial features of this language. Such a phenomenon is noticeable in many other Nigerian novels as well, and it can be explained as a concession to Western readers, who would not be able to understand genuine pidgin. It has also been proposed that the anglophone novelist may not know how to use pidgin in a proper way, and the resulting variant could therefore be called "pseudo-Pidgin" (Zabus 1991: 98). Another

complicating factor in the use of written pidgin is the lack of a standardised orthography (Zabus 1991: 96).

### 3.3.4 Igbo English as an example of africanisation

Igbo is one of the three most important local languages in Nigeria, besides Yoruba and Hausa. Many Igbo writers have written novels in English, and their texts often contain quite a number of linguistic and cultural elements from their Igbo background. A detailed study of the authorial techniques used by Igbo writers in their creative writing has been conducted by Igboanusi (2001), who is an Igbo himself and is therefore familiar with the origin and meaning of many of the Igbo features in anglophone Nigerian literature.

Igboanusi considers Igbo English a variety of Nigerian English which emerged through the influence of or interference from Igbo language and culture. Writers can use this variety deliberately to africanise their English language and to convey the African and Igbo experience and world view into their literary production. Igboanusi (2001: 366) lists seven linguistic techniques which Igbo authors seem to use widely in their fiction to africanise English: borrowing, loan-blends, coinages, translation equivalents, semantic extension, collocational extension and colloquialisms. He admits that there may be overlaps between these categories; for example, coinages and translation equivalents may be hard to distinguish. In spite of such problems, Igboanusi's examples from fourteen novels by seven writers give a good overview of the techniques that writers can use to africanise the English of West African literature, and a modification of his classification will be used in the analysis of my material in Chapter 5. The techniques will be discussed below with examples taken from Igboanusi's study and which occur in five Igbo novels not translated into Finnish: Amadi (1966), Emecheta (1986), Munonye (1980 [1966]) and Nwankwo (1973 [1964] and 1975). The africanised elements in the examples below are bolded, and the explanations of the Igbo features are provided by Igboanusi (2001: 367-375).

1. *Borrowing* consists mainly of transferring loan words from Igbo into English:

For it was in this section that the chieftain of Aniocha and most of the **ozo** men sat (Nwankwo 1973: 25)

*Ozo* is a title holder in Igbo social rank.

It is my misfortune [. . .] I have a weak **Ikenga**, I think (Nwankwo 1973: 33)

*Ikenga* is a symbol of strength. These two borrowings, *ozo* and *Ikenga*, have no lexical equivalents in English, and so they are probably used to fill semantic gaps.

2. *Loan-blends* are combinations of words from Igbo and English, where the Igbo word modifies its partial English equivalent:

she took her pestle **odo handle** and cracked to pieces those expensive tusk ornaments (Emecheta: 1986: 9, italics in the original)

She would go to Umudiobia market on coming **oye day** – in three days' time; and she would take a heavy basket (Munonye 1980: 78)

The precise meanings of the Igbo words *odo* and *oye* are probably clear only to Igbo speakers, but the English head words, *handle* and *day*, make it easier for readers to infer the meanings of the expressions in which they occur. The first example above about borrowing, *the ozo men*, could in my view also be considered a loan-blend, as there is an English word modified by an Igbo word. This shows that the distinctions between Igboanusi's categories are not always clear, at least not to a non-Igbo speaker.

3. *Coinages* are defined by Igboanusi (2001: 368) to be mostly “in the form of compound English words which merely paraphrase the Igbo concepts”:

This was to prepare for her husband's **second burial** rites which had been fixed shortly after the new yam festival (Amadi 1966: 30)

*Second burial* is a traditional Igbo practice of performing the funeral rites more elaborately.

Those old women with **long throats** are now impatient (Amadi 1966: 32)

*Long throat* describes a person who is greedy, and according to Igboanusi, “it is a direct translation from its Igbo form *akpiri ogologo*” (Igboanusi 2001: 368; italics in the original).

It took him two **market weeks** to recover completely (Nwankwo 1973: 153)

In Igbo culture, a *market week* is a period of four days (one of which is the *oye day* in the example on loan-blends above), and it is “a direct translation from the Igbo form *izu ahia*” (Igboanusi 2001: 369; italics in the original). Igboanusi claims that the strategy in the last two examples above is “direct translation”, but he does not define this notion, nor does he explain whether it differs from paraphrase and if so, how.

4. *Translation equivalents* are the results of word-for-word or literal translation of Igbo words, phrases or even sentences. They can be divided into three subgroups: Igboisms, proverbs and imagery. Igboanusi claims that “Igboisms are clearly different from coinages. Although words are coined to reflect Igbo experience, *coinages* may be formed through paraphrase but not through literal translation, as is the case with Igboisms” (2001: 370; italics in the original). Igboanusi thus seems to consider paraphrase and direct translation as synonyms, and it is impossible for non-Igbo speakers to know what the processes were that resulted in the expressions presented as coinages above. It is therefore unclear to me why coinages (or some of them at least) could not be considered translation equivalents as well.

a) *Igboisms* reflect Igbo life and culture:

'I thought it was "**lock-chest**".' 'But what brought about the **lock-chest**?' (Amadi 1966: 21)

*Lock-chest* is a literal translation (or a calque) of an Igbo word which means 'heart failure'. Another example of literal translation is seen in the following phrase:

On the evening of **the brother of tomorrow** (Amadi 1966: 63)

*The brother of tomorrow* is glossed as the day after tomorrow. The words are in English but their combination reflects Igbo thought patterns.

b) *Proverbs* are commonly used in Igbo novels, especially in those that have a rural setting, as the influence of the Igbo oral tradition is stronger in the countryside than in the urban areas:

our people say that **the bulge of pregnancy cannot be concealed for long** (Munonye 1980: 85)

He takes time over his snuff and his palm wine and if you attempted to hurry him

from either he would excuse himself by reminding you of the proverb: **where the runner reaches, there the walker will reach eventually** (Nwankwo 1973: 53)

In these examples, traditional Igbo proverbs are phrased in standard English.

c) *Imagery* consists mainly of metaphors and similes, and, like proverbs, images are an important literary device in Igbo literature. They convey information through comparison:

The old men say that **death is a bad reaper; it is not always after the ripe fruit** (Amadi 1966: 22)

**Women are firecoals which a man open-eyedly heaps on his head** (Nwankwo 1973: 171)

According to Igboanusi, these metaphors can be rephrased as 'Death is irrational' and 'women are an unavoidable evil', respectively.

Most important of all, **she was two bodies** already and the child seemed to be developing well (Munonye 1980: 139)

As can be inferred from the context, *to be two bodies* means 'to be pregnant'.

In many cases, translation equivalents seem to be the result of relexification; thus, we can talk about translation in this connection even when there are no written source texts in indigenous languages, as was stated in subsection 3.3.2 above. Literal translations of Igbo expressions may also result in standard English, as can be seen in the examples above, but the underlying cultural practices and thought patterns may be difficult for Western readers to comprehend. The postcolonial writer is, as Tymoczko (1999b: 20) puts it, “transposing a culture — to be understood as a language, a cognitive system, a literature (comprised of a system of texts, genres, tale types, and so on), a material culture, a social system and legal framework, a history and so forth”. When authors draw from their traditional and cultural heritage, they can be said to rewrite their “metatext of culture” (Tymoczko 1999b: 20), which may be expressed in standard English, while it contains unfamiliar cultural aspects for the target audience.

Simpson (1979: 79) considers such instances of cultural transposing problematic for translators, as he writes about Achebe’s novels that “the major problem the translator has to cope with is understanding the frequent reliance on Nigerian proverbs transposed into idiomatic English”. His solution to such a translation problem is the assertion that

“[s]ince the author has already bridged the gap between the Nigerian idiom and the European one, all the translator has to do is to find the equivalent expression and register in the foreign language” (Simpson 1979: 79). The matter, however, is not that simple, as translators need to take into consideration the background knowledge of the target readers and consequently decide between the choice of retaining the cultural content of the translation equivalents through literal translation, and the choice of rendering them into more transparent ones. This is why translation equivalents that contain no marked language will be included in this study in Chapter 5 below.

5. *Semantic extension* refers to the phenomenon where English words acquire new meanings, often through interference from Igbo:

Most of the events that happened before I was born had to be told to me by **my mothers** (Emecheta 1986: 6)

In addition to one’s biological mother, the female relatives and friends of one’s mother can also be called mothers in Igbo society.

6. *Collocational extension* takes place when, for example, verbs are made to collocate with nouns to produce associations that are not normally seen in English. Igboanusi admits that “[s]emantic extension and collocational extension are very closely related in that they are created through the same process of translation and they both result in new or extended meanings” (2001: 373; italics in the original). The difference between these notions is that semantic extension affects only one word, while in collocational extension, the new meaning arises from the association of unusual collocates:

Do you **know book**? (Nwankwo 1975: 137)

*To know book* can be glossed as 'to be educated' or 'to be intelligent'.

'You and your like are the lucky ones,' said Nwafo Ugo. 'You **eat the world**' (Nwankwo 1973: 130)

*To eat the world* can be rephrased as 'to enjoy oneself'.

A man’s **heart eats** many sad things! (Munonye 1980: 93)

*To eat* in this connection is 'to endure'.

7. *Colloquialisms* are expressions that are suitable only for ordinary or informal conversation:

Nnanna, **tell** us with your own **mouth** where you were yesterday and today again (Munonye 1980: 85)

The colloquialism in this example results from the use of the noun *mouth* together with the verb *tell* which Igboanusi calls "the informal repetition" (2001: 374) and which he considers to be redundant. He observes that such a style is common in the Bible, and in British English it is considered poetic and archaic. Igboanusi (2001: 375) claims, however, that similar features "often occur in Igbo in colloquial contexts, and [. . . they] are translations that derive from the Igbo speech style" .

'That the umuada will be here tomorrow.' 'True? **Your brother Oji** knows nothing about it.' 'I thought you knew' (Munonye 1980: 16)

*Your brother Oji* refers to the speaker himself, and it is used instead of the first person pronoun *I*.

'What they find in the place **Ejimadu's son** doesn't know.' 'Nor does **the daughter**' (Munonye 1980 76)

Here, a brother and a sister are talking, referring to themselves as the son and daughter of Ejimadu, their father. The interpretation of these kinds of colloquialisms would be impossible without the knowledge of the context.

These seven procedures to africanise English are not unique to the language pair of Igbo and English. As Igboanusi (2001: 376) points out, Nigerian writers from other ethnic backgrounds use them as well, and it is likely that other anglophone West African writers employ similar methods to express African experience more effectively and to distance themselves from the colonial language. Even though the differences between the seven authorial techniques to africanise English listed by Igboanusi are not entirely clear to a non-Igbo speaker, and some categories seem to overlap or be of little significance to my material, his classification of the techniques gives good clues to what kinds of distinctive linguistic and cultural elements can be encountered in anglophone West African texts. Consequently, I will modify the classification presented above in the following manner: in my analysis, borrowing and loan-blends will be considered



together as *borrowings*, and the remaining five categories will be grouped together under the heading *translation equivalents*, because, as Igboanusi admits in his definitions of semantic and collocational extension and colloquialisms, these literary devices result from translating African speech features into English; further, coinages cannot be distinguished from translation equivalents by a non-Igbo speaker, as was explained above.

The two wider categories that I propose, borrowings and translation equivalents, correspond fairly well to the two techniques of africanisation identified by Zabus (1991): visible traces and relexification, presented in section 3.3 above. Visible traces, according to Zabus' metaphor of the palimpsest, are African-language words in a text that is mostly written in a European language. Relexification is her term for translating from an African language so that the grammatical structure of the European language of writing is bent to imitate the structure of the African language and thus contains nonstandard linguistic features. The third category listed by Zabus, pidginisation, will also be included in the analysis of the present study, as the use of pidgin is a fairly common authorial technique of africanisation in the novels selected for a closer study in this thesis. A fourth category of authorial techniques also emerges from the material, that of English-language *neologisms* of the type *been-to* and *high life*. These lexical items cannot be analysed together with borrowings or translation equivalents, as they are probably not borrowed or translated from any language but have been developed in the multilingual environment to describe new phenomena in the colonial and postcolonial society. The term neologisms will be used to describe the insertion of these types of lexical items into West African texts, in order not to confuse this technique with Igboanusi's term coinages, which he defines as paraphrases of African concepts.

The twelve novels analysed in this study, their writers and translators will be presented in the following section.

### **3.4 The West African novels selected for this study**

As almost two hundred writers have published more than two thousand books in Africa south of the Sahara, South Africa excluded, since the publication of *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* in 1952 (Killam 2004: ix), there must be hundreds of novels in English written by West African authors. Only fifteen of them have been translated into Finnish during the past fifty years. These novels are some of the best known internationally, and success

in the West has obviously been an important criterion when works have been selected for publication in Finland. There are, however, some exceptions to the rule that the most popular novels from anglophone West Africa are available in Finnish translation. For example, Ben Okri won the Booker Prize in 1991 with *The Famished Road*, but it was his later novel *Dangerous Love* (1996) that was chosen to be published in Finland (*Vaarallista rakkautta* 1996). Chinua Achebe is best known internationally through his first work, *Things Fall Apart* (1958), but it was not published in Finland until 2014 (*Kaikki hajoa*), while his fourth novel, *A Man of the People* (1966) was translated into Finnish already in 1969 (*Kansan mies*).

With the exception of Amos Tutuola, it can be claimed that all of the anglophone West African novelists who have had works translated into Finnish are able to write in standard English, as they have studied at university, either in Britain, the United States, Nigeria or Ghana. Thus, the nonstandard features and African elements in their texts are likely to indicate a deliberate bending of the "foreign" language to make it more suitable for conveying the African aesthetics, culture and thought patterns in their texts. Twelve novels were chosen as material for this study. As was stated above (section 1.2), *Amina* (2005, Finnish translation *Amina* 2008) by Muhammed Umar was excluded because its theme and style differ considerably from the rest of the anglophone West African novels that have been translated into Finnish. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Americanah* (2013) and Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* could not be included into this study due to time constraints as they were published in Finland when this thesis was close to completion, Adichie's *Kotiinpalaajat* in 2013 and Achebe's *Kaikki hajoa* in 2014. It could also be argued that Wole Soyinka's *Aké — The Years of Childhood* (1981) is a novel, but I consider it an autobiography. Likewise, Soyinka's *Isara — A Voyage around "Essay"* (1989) is more like a biography of his father than a novel; these two texts are therefore excluded. There are also a few other borderline cases translated into Finnish: *Beasts of No Nation* (2005) by Uzodinma Iweala, *A Memory of Love* (2010) by Aminatta Forna and *Ghana Must Go* (2013) by Taiye Selasi. These three writers were excluded from my study because they were born either in the UK or the United States and have spent most of their lives outside Africa. Also, *Muisto rakkaudesta* by Forna and *Ghana ikuisesti* by Selasi were published in 2013, too late to be included in this study, while the blurb of *Ei kenenkään lapset* (2007) states unequivocally that Iweala is *yhdysovaltalainen kirjailija*, an 'American writer'.

The twelve novels that form the material of this study are Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the People* (1966), Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* (2003) and *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006), Ama Ata Aidoo's *Changes: A Love Story* (1991), Ayi Kwei Armah's *Fragments* (1969) and *Why Are We so Blest?* (1972), Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* (1979), Flora Nwapa's *Efuru* (1966), Ben Okri's *Dangerous Love* (1996), Wole Soyinka's *The Interpreters* (1965) and *Season of Anomy* (1973), and Amos Tutuola's *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* (1952). These twelve novels, their nine writers and their predominant methods of africanisation are presented next in alphabetical order. The translators of the twelve novels will also be presented briefly.

**Chinua** (Albert Chinualumogu) **Achebe** was born in 1930 in Ogidi, a large village in Eastern Nigeria, into an Igbo family, and he died in 2013 in the United States. His primary education was in Igbo, and he began to study English at the age of eight (Achebe 1975: 119). Achebe was one of the few Nigerians who were able to continue studies at university level, and he studied first medicine and then literature at the University College, Ibadan, which was opened in 1948. In the university reading list there was a novel by the Anglo-Irish writer Joyce Cary, *Mister Johnson*, which had been well received in Britain and the United States. To the surprise of their teacher, Achebe and his fellow Nigerian students objected to the image of Nigerians in the novel. Achebe criticises *Mister Johnson* because "there is a certain undertow of uncharitableness just below the surface on which [Cary's] narrative moves and from where, at the slightest chance, a contagion of distaste, hatred and mockery breaks through to poison his tale" (2000: 24). Achebe learned from the experience of reading the novel that

[t]here is such a thing as absolute power over narrative. Those who secure this privilege for themselves can arrange stories about others pretty much where, and as, they like. Just as in corrupt, totalitarian regimes, those who exercise power over others can do anything. They can bring out crowds of demonstrators whenever they need them. In Nigeria it is called renting a crowd. Has Joyce Cary rented Joseph Conrad's crowd? Never mind. What matters is that Cary has a very strong aversion to the people he is presenting to us. (2000: 24-25)

Achebe has admitted that besides Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, *Mister Johnson* was the incentive for him to write his first novel, *Things Fall Apart*, "to set the score right about my ancestors" (Awoonor 1975: 252). The novel was published in 1958, and it is still the best-known African novel, as it has sold over eight million copies and been translated into some sixty languages (Bamiro 2006: 315). Achebe's next novels, *No*

*Longer at Ease* and *Arrow of God*, were published in 1960 and 1964, respectively. His fourth novel, *A Man of the People*, came out in January 1966 just before a military overthrow of the civilian government in Nigeria (Wren 1981: 108). At the end of this book, there is a military coup, and therefore Achebe was praised as a prophet. During the Nigerian civil war in 1967-1970, Achebe actively supported the secession of Biafra from the federal state of Nigeria, and his fifth novel, *Anthills of the Savannah*, did not appear until 1987. After the war, he taught in universities in Nigeria and the United States. He was seriously injured in a car accident in 1990.

The first novel by Achebe that was translated into Finnish is *A Man of the People* (*Kansan mies* 1969). *A Man of the People* is a satirical story based on political development in post-independence Nigeria. After gaining independence in 1960, Nigeria gradually became a society where democracy was misused for personal gain, "tribalism" divided the country and corruption was widespread. In the novel, the protagonist and first-person narrator Odili is a young teacher who moves to the capital city of the country to stay in the house of his former teacher Chief Nanga, who has become the Minister of Culture. Odili's initial admiration for Nanga's position and life style gradually turns into contempt for his uncivilised manners, materialism and corruption. Odili decides to stand as a rival candidate to Nanga in the forthcoming elections, with disastrous results. In the end, Odili turns out to be a person not much different from Nanga. He is selfish and materialistic, but still, as Wren (1981: 113) puts it, "Odili has preserved something of a morality [. . .] There is ground for hope. Perhaps the trials of the 1960s did not destroy the Nigerian soul, the soul that Odili may be taken, at one point in history, to have symbolised."

From a linguistic point of view, Achebe employs a variety of techniques that africanise the English-language text. He is known for his abundant use of Igbo proverbs, and he sprinkles his texts with Igbo words that are usually left unexplained. In the novels set in the urban environment, like *A Man of the People* and *Anthills of the Savannah*, Nigerian Pidgin is an important device of characterisation. *A Man of the People* is said to contain as many as ninety-three pidgin utterances (Zabus 1991: 97). Wren (1981: xxiii-xxiv) has distinguished four varieties of English that the protagonist, Odili, uses in the novel: standard English, which is the dominant mode in the narration; dialogue in standard English; dialogue in pidgin; and "our language", Igbo, translated into English, which is occasionally mixed with English or pidgin (resulting sometimes in code-switching, i.e. the use of at least two different languages or language varieties in one

utterance). Wren (1981: xxiii) claims that the pidgin expressions in *A Man of the People* are more difficult for native speakers of English to understand than the ones in Achebe's earlier novels. The following extract is an example of the mixing of different varieties of English in the novel even in the speech of one character, in this case Chief Nanga's brother:

'Honourable Chief Nanga is my brother and he is what white man call V.I.P. . . . Me na P.I.V. — Poor Innocent Victim.' He laughed, turning his dopey eyes in my direction. I couldn't help smiling; the wit and inventiveness of our traders is of course world famous.

'Yes, me na P.I.V.,' he repeated. 'A bottle of beer de cost only five shilling. Chief Honourable Nanga has the money — as of today. Look at the new house he is building. Four storeys! Before, if a man built two storeys the whole town would come to admire it. But today my kinsman is building four. Do I ask to share it with him when it is finished? No, I only ask for common beer, common five shilling beer.' (MOP 108)

*A Man of the People* was translated into Finnish by Eila Pennanen (1916-1994), a prolific writer herself. Besides writing dozens of novels, short stories and plays, she translated about one hundred texts into Finnish by writers like Vladimir Nabokov, William Golding, Graham Greene, Bertrand Russell and Agatha Christie. She received an award for her translation work in 1971.

**Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie** was born in Enugu in eastern Nigeria in 1977. Her parents are Igbos, her father a retired professor of statistics and a former deputy vice-chancellor of the University of Nigeria in Nsukka, and her mother a retired university administrator. Adichie grew up and went to school in the university town of Nsukka, and after finishing school she started to study medicine in Nigeria. After a year, she abandoned her studies and moved to the United States to study communications, political science and creative writing. After an M.A. degree in 2003, she started to study African history at Yale University, and she is teaching creative writing. Adichie divides her time between the United States and Nigeria, spending about six months in both countries every year.

Adichie's first published work was the play *For Love of Biafra* (1998), which was followed by a collection of poems titled *Decisions* (1998). Her first novel, *Purple Hibiscus* (2003), was shortlisted for the 2004 Orange Prize, and it won the 2005 Commonwealth Writers' Best First Book Prize. Her second novel, *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006), won, among others, the 2007 Orange Broadband Prize and the 2007 Woman

Booker Prize, and a Nigerian-British film based on the novel had its premiere in October 2013. A collection of short stories, *The Thing around Your Neck*, was published in 2009, and Adichie's third novel, *Americanah*, in 2013.

Writing in English has never been a problem for Adichie. She was educated in English and was even discouraged from speaking Igbo at school. She has said in an interview:

I come from a generation of Nigerians who constantly negotiate two languages and sometimes three, if you include Pidgin. For the Igbo in particular, ours is the Engli-Igbo generation and so to somehow claim that Igbo alone can capture our experience is to limit it. Globalization has affected us in profound ways.

I'd like to say something about English as well, which is simply that English is mine. Sometimes we talk about English in Africa as if Africans have no agency, as if there is not a distinct form of English spoken in Anglophone African countries. I was educated in it; I spoke it at the same time as I spoke Igbo. My English-speaking is rooted in a Nigerian experience and not in a British or American or Australian one. I have taken ownership of English. (Azodo 2008: 2)

Adichie admires Achebe's work, and his *Arrow of God* (1964) was her favourite novel when she was a child. In her own fiction, Adichie has written about Nigeria and also about Nigerian immigrants in the United States. She wanted to study African history at the university, because, as she explained in an interview with Patterson (2006), "Africa has long been written about, long been maligned, long been seen in a particular way, [. . .] and I feel that to counter that I want to be knowledgeable."

*Purple Hibiscus* is a novel about an urban family living in Nigeria under a military government, probably modelled after the one headed by General Sani Abacha in the 1990s (Oha 2007: 203). The father of the first-person narrator, fifteen-year old Kambili, is admired and respected by the local community because he is a successful businessman and owner of a newspaper. His family members, however, live in continual fear because of his tyrannical behaviour at home. Kambili and her brother Jaja live isolated life at home, but once their father allows them to spend their school holidays with their aunt and her children. During their sojourn with their relatives, Kambili and Jaja learn that life could be different for them. At the end of the novel, both the father and the head of state die, indicating a promise of a better future for Kambili's family and for Nigeria.

*Half of a Yellow Sun* is set before and during the Biafra war in 1967-1970. The story is told from three points of view: that of Ugwu, a houseboy of a radical university

lecturer, Odenigbo; Odenigbo's London-educated girlfriend Olanna; and Richard, an Englishman who admires Igbo culture and moves to Port Harcourt in south-eastern Nigeria to live with Olanna's twin sister Kainene. The language of *Half of a Yellow Sun* is mainly standard English, and it contains many Igbo words and phrases, with or without an explanation of their meaning. The instances of African figurative language translated into English are fairly common as well:

She smiled. Her smile made him feel taller. 'Oh look, those paw-paws are almost ripe. *Lotekwa*, don't forget to pluck them.'

There was something polished about her voice, about her; she was like the stone that lay right below a gushing spring, rubbed smooth by years and years of sparkling water, and looking at her was similar to finding that stone, knowing that there were so few like it. (HALF 24-25; italics in the original)

*Half of a Yellow Sun* was published in Finland in 2009 (*Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa*). It became a best-seller, which probably encouraged the publisher to publish Adichie's first novel, *Purple Hibiscus*, in Finnish version one year later (*Purppuranpunainen hibiskus*). The two novels were translated by different translators, Sari Karhulahti and Kristiina Savikurki, which offers a chance to investigate whether there are differences between these two translators in their treatment of the rich Igbo cultural material which is typical of Adichie's writing. Karhulahti, the translator of *Half of a Yellow Sun*, has translated over fifty works from English, among them *The Thing Around Your Neck* (2009; *Huominen on liian kaukana* [2011]) by Adichie; Savikurki has so far translated about twenty English books into Finnish.

Christina **Ama Ata Aidoo** was born in 1942 as the daughter of a local chief in the town of Aboadzi Kyiakor in the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana). She grew up in the royal household and went to school in Cape Coast, after which she attended the University of Ghana at Legon. Aidoo's first play, *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, was produced in 1964. Between 1964 and 1966, she was a junior research fellow at the Institute of African Studies at the university, where she learned more about African oral traditions. Aidoo was first committed to the Pan-Africanist and socialist ideas that were popular in Ghana after the country gained independence in 1957, but her eventual disillusionment with the promises of a new era after independence is visible in her collection of short stories *No Sweetness Here* (1970). Other prominent concerns in her writing have been the position of women and the role played by the "beens-to" (Africans who have studied in the West) on African society. Later works by Aidoo include the

play *Anowa* (1970); two novels, *Our Sister Killjoy: Or, Reflections from a Black-Eyed Squint* (1977) and *Changes: A Love Story* (1991); two collections of poetry, *Someone Talking to Someone* (1985) and *An Angry Letter in January* (1992); and two collections of short stories, *The Eagle and the Chickens* (1989) and *The Girl Who Can* (1997). Besides fiction, Aidoo has written essays on African literature and the status of women in Africa. She has also worked in the field of education, teaching and lecturing in Africa and in the United States. In the early 1980s, she was also active in Ghanaian politics and was once even the Minister of Education in the Jerry Rawlings government.

Aidoo has published texts only in English, but it has not been an easy decision for her, as she reveals in an interview:

[H]ere we are, writing in a language that is not even accessible to our people and one does worry about that, you know. For instance, writing in English makes it possible for me or any African writer to communicate with other people throughout the continent who share that colonial language. On the other hand, one's relationship to one's own immediate environment is fairly non-existent or rather controversial. These are some of the ideas that one comes up with. I have not pretended to myself that I have an answer. I have thought also that, whilst one is aware of the language issue as a big issue, it is better for a writer to *write*, in English, than not to write at all. (James 1990: 9; italics in the original)

***Changes: A Love Story*** tells about Esi, a well-educated woman who has a good job. After problems with her husband, she divorces him and soon falls in love with Ali, a Muslim who is already married. Esi realises that Ghanaian society does not recognise single women, and she decides to become Ali's second wife. The arrangement, however, does not work as Esi had expected. Aidoo uses some African words in *Changes*, and she explains the meanings of most of them in a glossary at the end of the novel:

Early in his sojourn in the south, Ali had decided that he would always live in the *zongo* of the cities in which he found himself. He had not tried to analyse that decision into its parts except to say that, 'for one, *zongo* is the only area in these places where one can be sure of always getting some decent *tuo*'. If the house he had bought was not exactly in Nima, he could at least console himself with the thought that it was near enough. From his favourite corner on the balcony upstairs, he could hear and see the city-within-city buzzing with maximum activity during the day, and winking all over at night – also with maximum activity. Nima never slept. (CHA 27)

Both *zongo* and *tuo* have entries in the glossary, where the words are explained to be 'a ghetto of northern peoples in southern cities' and 'a hausa staple adopted by almost the



entire Sub-Sahel', respectively. The multilingual West African setting of the novel becomes evident in the following excerpt:

When Ali was in an English-speaking environment, people found his language 'quaint' with its French accent and philosophical turn to everyday phrases. When he was in a Francophone environment, people thought his language enchantingly 'simple, comme les Anglais!' (CHA 30)

*Changes (Muutoksia – eräs rakkaustarina)* was translated into Finnish by Terhi Kuusisto, who has translated about thirty novels from English, among them *Butterfly Burning* (Palava perhonen 2001) by the Zimbabwean Yvonne Vera.

**Ayi Kwei Armah** was born in Takoradi in the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana) in 1939. His mother tongue is Fanti, a dialect of Akan. He went to school near Accra at Achimota College, where Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah, had also received education. In 1959, Armah worked for Radio Ghana before leaving for the United States, where he studied social sciences at Harvard University. In 1963, he returned to Ghana, hoping to take part in the revolutionary changes that were underway there. Soon he became disillusioned because of corruption and other types of misuse of power of the new political elite, and his losing of faith in a brighter future for his country was the inspiration for his first novel *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* (1968). He continued to criticise the condition of postcolonial Africa in his following two novels *Fragments* (1969) and *Why Are We So Blest?* (1972). After the critical books, Armah wrote two historical novels in a more positive tone, *Two Thousand Seasons* (1973) and *The Healers* (1978). After a long silence, *Osiris Rising* appeared in 1995, and the autobiographical book *The Eloquence of the Scribes* in 2006. Armah has worked as an editor, translator and university teacher in France, the United States, Algeria, Tanzania and Lesotho, and he now lives in Senegal.

The protagonist of *Fragments*, Baako, is a "been-to", who has been in the United States for five years to study. When he returns to his home country, his relatives expect him to provide them with all kinds of material goods from the Western world. Baako cannot fulfil their expectations, and he is gradually driven to madness. Besides his Puerto Rican girlfriend Juana, the only person who understands Baako's predicament is his grandmother Naana, who is worried about the fragmentation of the traditional African way of life. The first and last of the novel's thirteen chapters are written from Naana's point of view, and they contain a large amount of africanised material. Naana's speech

contains translation equivalents from the Fanti language, such as: "I was sharpening words to tell them" (FRA 2), and "It is your mind to pour me out a drink in that, Foli" (FRA 10). The traditional speech style is an important element in the characterisation of Naana, who obviously cannot even speak English but whose speech and thoughts are represented in this language according to the conventions of the euphone writing in Africa. There are also Fanti words inserted in the novel, and some of the chapter headings are in that language, for example: "3: Akwaaba" and "5: Osagyefo".

Armah's third novel, *Why Are We So Blest?*, is set in north Africa and has three protagonists, Modin, Solo and Aimée, who narrate the story in turn. Modin has studied in the United States, but he returns to Africa, to a fictional country called Congheria, with his white girlfriend Aimée after becoming disillusioned with Western education. The couple want to take part in the African revolution, but the idealistic enterprise has fatal consequences for Modin. The novel is sometimes considered to have an anti-white attitude.

Both of Armah's novels (*Pirstaleita* and *Mistä meille tämä armo*) and also Okri's *Dangerous Love* were translated into Finnish by Seppo Lojonen, who has translated into Finnish almost two hundred books, among them many African novels. He received an award for his translation work in 1979 and in 1996.

**Buchi** (Florence Onyebuchi) **Emecheta** was born in 1944 in Lagos in south-western Nigeria, though her parents were Igbos from Ibuza in the south-eastern part of the country. From an early age Emecheta was dreaming of becoming a writer, but she left school at the age of sixteen to get married. Her husband left for London to study, and she accompanied him with their two children in 1962. They soon had three more children, but when Emecheta was twenty-two, she split with her husband. She continued to study and received a BA degree in sociology at the University of London, and she has worked as a librarian, teacher and social worker. Emecheta started to write stories to journals, and her first novel, the autobiographical *In the Ditch*, appeared in 1972. After that, she has published, among others, *Second-Class Citizen* (1974), *The Bride Price* (1976), *The Slave Girl* (1977), *The Joys of Motherhood* (1979), *Destination Biafra* (1982), *The Double Yoke* (1983), *The Rape of Shavi* (1983), *Gwendolen* (1990) and *Kehinde* (1994). In addition, she has written an autobiography, *Head above Water* (1986), and books for children.

The protagonist of *The Joys of Motherhood* is Nnu Ego, the beautiful daughter of an Igbo chief. In her community, the value of a woman depends on her ability to produce

sons. Nnu Ego gets married, but after a few years she divorces her husband because of childlessness. She returns to her father's village, and a new husband is found for her, this time in the capital of Nigeria, Lagos. There Nnu Ego has many children, but life is hard in the big city, and she has to struggle to make ends meet. She manages to educate her sons, who move to the United States and forget her. At the end of the novel, she dies alone; thus, the title of the book can be understood ironically. The title is an obvious intertextual reference to the last paragraph of Nwapa's *Efuru* (1966), where the eponymous protagonist Efuru dreams of the water goddess who "was beautiful. She gave women beauty and wealth but she had no child. She had never experienced the joy of motherhood" (EFU-S: 281). There are other intertextual connections between *The Joys of Motherhood* and *Efuru* as well, for example, both protagonists are daughters of important men, and they marry twice. It seems that Emecheta wanted to write a story to counter the idealistic view of motherhood presented in Nwapa's *Efuru*.

A conspicuous feature in *The Joys of Motherhood* is borrowing of words from African languages which the author explains inside the text (cushioning; see subsection 3.3.1):

As a grass-cutter, his income had only been five pounds a month. He had given his wives three pounds of it for food, sent ten shillings to his relatives back home, and paid ten shillings towards *esusu*, a kind of savings among friends whereby each member of the group collected contributions in turn. (JOM: 147; italics in the original)

Sometimes Emecheta does not provide any explanations to the borrowings, probably because she believes the terms to be known among readers, or because the meanings of the African-language words can be inferred from the context:

She felt the milk trickling out, wetting her buba blouse; [. . .] For they saw a young woman of twenty-five, with long hair not too tidily plaited and with no head-tie to cover it, wearing a loose house buba and a faded lappa to match tied tightly around her thin waist, and they guessed that all was far from well. (JOM 8)

Most of the dialogue in *The Joys of Motherhood* is in standard English which represents Igbo language. In the following passage, soldiers come to evict Nnu Ego from her home:

Nnu Ego begged the man in her halting pidgin English to please stop the dog from frightening her "pikin".

The man got the message and barked just like the dogs, "sit and behave yourselves!"

This surprised mother and child so much that for a while they were lost in admiration for this man who could make such fierce-looking dogs obey him.

Then he barked at Nnu Ego, "Your husband – the child's father, hm?"

Nnu Ego did not understand him and she started to talk in her own language. The man looked out and called to another person in the compound. This one was black but also in army uniform and he acted as interpreter, speaking to Nnu Ego in a strange kind of Ibibio dialect. (JOM 96)

This passage is an example of the African writer's problems of representing different languages and varieties. Nnu Ego's speech in Igbo is represented in standard English throughout the novel, still she does not understand what the soldier says to her in English.

Emecheta does not want to be classified as an African writer. For example, she has said in an interview that "[i]n the British Museum I'm classified as an English writer writing about Africa because of my language which they feel is different from other African writers. They claim that I write as if English is my first language" (Emenyonu 1988: 130). In spite of such comments, Emecheta uses a considerable amount of africanised English in her creative writing. She has been criticised for her attitude towards African writers and literature. For example, Achebe (2000: 72) has written about Emecheta that "[t]he psychology of the dispossessed can be truly frightening".

The translator of *The Joys of Motherhood* (*Nnu Egon tarina*), Kristiina Drews, has translated almost one hundred novels from English into Finnish, among them *Maru* by the South African Bessie Head.

**Flora** (Florence Nwanzuruahu Nkiru) **Nwapa** was born in Oguta in eastern Nigeria in 1931 into an Igbo family, and she died in Enugu in 1993. Both of her parents were teachers. Nwapa attended school in Nigeria, and in 1953, she went to study at the University College in Ibadan, where she received her B.A. in 1957. She continued her studies at Edinburgh University, where she received a diploma in education in 1958, after which she returned to Nigeria to work as a teacher and administrator. Nwapa was one of the first black African women writers to publish a novel in English (*Efuru* 1966). After the Biafra war, she worked as the Minister for Health and Social Welfare for East Central State in 1970-1971. Besides writing, she has been involved in publishing, and she started her own publishing company, Tana Press, in 1974. Another publishing house,

Flora Nwapa Books, specialising in children's fiction, was launched in 1977. Nwapa was married and had three children.

Nwapa's best-known works are the novels *Efuru* (1966) and *Idu* (1970). Other writings include *This is Lagos and Other Stories* (1971), *Never Again* (1976) about the Biafra war, *Wives at War and Other Stories* (1980), *One Is Enough* (1981), *Women Are Different* (1986), and *The Lake Goddess* (1995). The eponymous protagonist of *Efuru* is a woman who decides to break the tradition of her people and get married without the paying of the bride price. Efuru has a child who dies in infancy, and she cannot get pregnant any more. Her husband leaves her, and even though she remarries, she remains childless. The novel is set in the countryside, and it contains many references to Igbo culture and traditions, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

At last Nwosu and the fisherman saw the waters of the blue lake mingling beautifully, majestically, and calmly with the brown waters of the Great River. The spot could be very calm or very rough, depending on the mood of Uhamiri, the owner of the lake, and Okita, the owner of the Great River. The two were supposed to be husband and wife, but they governed different domains and nearly always quarrelled. Nobody knew the cause or nature of their constant quarrels.

'We have arrived, Ogbuide, Ezenwanyi,' the fisherman greeted Uhamiri the owner of the lake. And as he said this, he took some water with his hand, washed his face, and drank again and again.

'Uhamiri, the most beautiful of women, your children have arrived safely, we are grateful to you,' Nwosu said as he washed his face and drank some water. They paddled on with more vigour now that they were reaching home.

'By the time the sun is here,' Nwosu said and pointing upwards to indicate where he meant, 'we shall get home.' They had no clock to read the time, but they had the sun and the sun to them was more accurate than the clock which was made by man. The sun rose every day and set every day. The people could easily tell the time, or make appointments by merely looking up at the sky. (EFU-S: 255-256)

Nwapa does not use italics or inverted commas to mark Igbo terms from English, nor does she explain any meanings of the Igbo words or expressions but she expects the readers to infer these from the context. In the following passage, Efuru has gone with her father to consult a *dibia* or a traditional healer about her childlessness. This is what the *dibia* advises Efuru to do:

Nwashike, this is what your daughter will do every Afo day. She is to sacrifice to the ancestors. It is not much, but she will have to do it regularly. Every Afo day, she is to buy uziza, alligator pepper, and kola from the market. Uziza must be bought every Nkwo day from a pregnant woman. Every Afo day before the sun goes down or when the sun is here,' and he pointed to the direction, 'she should

put these things in a small calabash and go down the lake; there she will leave the calabash to float away. So, go home young woman and be cheerful. Next year during the Owu festival if nothing happens to you, come back to me. Go in peace.’ (EFU-S 25-26)

Nwapa has written about *Efuru* that it is

the story of a beautiful, intelligent, hardworking, wealthy, and childless woman. Thus, both her stature and tragic dimension are carefully established from the very first few chapters of the novel. Yet, in spite of her handicap (childlessness), she attains a very high and respectable position in her community. No one could do anything about the luckless Efuru for she is already the chosen one of the Great Woman of the Lake; she is called late in life to be the priestess of the water goddess. By this choice, Efuru is elevated to a plane higher than that of human beings; she communicates with gods and goddesses. (2007: 528)

Nwapa has further commented on her inspiration to write *Efuru* and *Idu* that

[t]he models for [the eponymous protagonists] Efuru and Idu were there – in real life – for me to exploit. In my first two novels, I tried to recreate the experiences of women in the traditional African society – their social and economic activities and above all their preoccupation with the problems of procreation, infertility, and child-rearing. Apart from exposing the pain, misery and humiliation which childless or barren women suffer in the traditional society, the two novels (I hope!) give insight into the resourcefulness and industriousness of women which often make them successful, respected, and influential people in the community. (2007: 528)

The translator of *Efuru* is Paula Herranen, who has translated almost forty works from English into Finnish.

**Ben Okri** was born in Minna, central Nigeria, in 1959. His father was an Urhobo and his mother an Igbo. After his birth his family moved to Britain, as his father started to study law in London, and they returned to Nigeria when he was seven years old. After finishing high school, Okri could not get a place at a university, and he started writing articles, some of which were published in women’s journals and evening papers. Okri wrote his first novel, *Flowers and Shadows*, at the age of nineteen, and it was published in 1980. In 1978, he moved to Britain to study literature at Essex University, but he could not complete a degree because of lack of funds. He was also a poetry editor for *West Africa* magazine and did some work for the BBC.

Okri’s second novel, published in 1981, was titled *The Landscapes Within*. Its protagonist is a young painter, Omovo, who lives in a Lagos ghetto. Two collections of

short stories followed, *Incidents at the Shrine* in 1986 and *Stars of the New Curfew* in 1988. Then Okri went back to writing novels, and *The Famished Road* was published in 1991. The same year it won the prestigious Booker Prize. In the following year, Okri published poems in a collection titled *An African Elegy*. The novels *Songs of Enchantment* (1993) and *Infinite Riches* (1998) are sequels to *The Famished Road*. In between them *Dangerous Love* (1996) appeared, which is a reworking of the earlier novel *The Landscapes Within*. Okri's later works include *Mental Fight* (1999), *In Arcadia* (2002), *Starbook* (2007) and *Tales of Freedom* (2009). He lives in London.

Okri has developed a style that does not rely solely on the realist mode of narration, which was the hallmark of the older generation of African writers, as he draws upon the West African oral traditions to produce literature that moves between the material world and the spirit world and which could be called magical realism. Okri's use of traditional folklore brings Amos Tutuola to mind, but he also incorporates intertextual material from around the world and skillfully produces texts of social and political critique. His novels are described by Booker (1998: 38) as "extremely complex and difficult", but *Dangerous Love* is an exception to this description, and it is often considered the easiest of Okri's novels for Western readers to approach.

*Dangerous Love* is set in the 1970s, soon after the Biafra war, and there are recurrent references to the civil war, as well as to the military governments that ruled Nigeria since 1966:

'But we are not at war.' 'Who said so? Our society is a battlefield. Poverty, corruption and hunger are the bullets. Bad governments are the bombs. And we still have soldiers ruling us.' (DL: 134)

Okri has said in an interview that it would be impossible to "write about Nigeria truthfully without a sense of violence. [...] It's the way it is, for historical and all sorts of other reasons" (Wilkinson 1992: 81).

The protagonist of *Dangerous Love*, Omovo, is again a painter living in Lagos as in *The Landscapes Within*. In spite of the superficially accessible style of *Dangerous Love*, there are African cultural elements in the text that may be difficult for Western readers to understand:

He saw a white juju pouch, weighed down with its sacrificial contents, above the door. He saw that the workshop had become even more cluttered and he was struck

by the new presences of worn-out Egungun masks, carvings of teak, sculptings of ebony, forms of reincarnated mothers, sculpted panels, of Abiku babies all contained in the womb of agonised mothers, their babies upside down, their eyes large with mischief. (DL 383)

*Dangerous Love* (**Vaarallista rakkautta**) was translated into Finnish by Seppo Lojonen, who was presented in connection with Armah's novels above.

**Wole** (Oluwole Akinwande) **Soyinka** was born in Ijebu Isara in Nigeria in 1934 into a Yoruba family. He went to school in Abeokuta and Ibadan and studied at the University College, Ibadan, during 1952-1954. After that, he travelled to Britain to study at the University of Leeds, but he did not complete his M.A. degree there. During the 1960s, Soyinka was lecturing in different universities in Nigeria, before he was detained from August 1967 to October 1969. In the 1970s, he held different professorships in Britain and West Africa (Gibbs 1980: 3-5). Soyinka was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1986.

Soyinka's work has strong links to Yoruba culture like Tutuola's and Okri's. He started his writing career as a playwright in Nigeria in the end of the 1950s, and he also produced and directed drama productions and acted on stage. Soyinka's first novel, *The Interpreters*, appeared in 1965 and the second one, *Season of Anomy*, in 1973. Besides poetry, drama and fiction, Soyinka has written two autobiographical works, *The Man Died: Prison notes* (1972) and *Aké — The Years of Childhood* (1981), a book about his father's life, *Isara — A Voyage around "Essay"* (1989), and literary essays, for example, in *Myth, Literature and the African World* (1976).

*The Interpreters* is divided into two parts, the first one being "an interpretation of the status of the newly independent Nigerian society" (Peters 1993: 23). The main characters of the book, the interpreters, are five young intellectuals, Sagoe, Bandele, Kola, Egbe and Sekoni, who, in Maduakor's words, are "a self-conscious group who interpret developments in society and grope for self-understanding in a kind of self-analysis" (1987: 82). The young men have returned home to Nigeria after studying abroad, and they have started to work and have high expectations for developing their country. The old guard, however, are not prepared to give up their positions of power, and corruption is widespread at every level of society. Gradually, the young men start to lose their idealism, and their different solutions to the social situation are the subject of the second part of the novel. *The Interpreters* is considered to be a rather difficult novel to



understand (Maduakor 1987: 81; Jones 1976: 1), and Kinkead-Weekes (1980: 219) describes the problems in the narration of the novel to be

of structure and style. The manipulation of chronology, the seeming absence of plot, the variation of style, the co-presence of very different kinds of imagination, the unequal development of characters, and the sudden concentration on new characters in Part Two, have led commentators, in the act of praising the book's power, to voice imperfectly concealed doubts about its coherence.

The apparent illogicality of flashbacks in the novel has been explained by Maduakor (1987: 84) to be the result of the Yoruba circular concept of time:

The boundary lines between past, present, and future tend to evaporate. [. . .] The movement back and forth from the past to the present in the narrative structure may be intended to emphasize the continuing relevance of the claims of the past upon the living. [. . .] Assuming that in the Yoruba world-view time is fluid, it is perhaps futile to look for temporal logic in Soyinka's flashbacks. The flashbacks rather operate by means of an associational logic. Images or personages cross the mind of the characters and call up past moments in their lives in which these images or personages have played some role.

Soyinka uses africanised English abundantly in his creative writing, for example, he is known for the use of pidgin in his plays. In *The Interpreters*, Soyinka uses some pidgin in conversations, mostly to distinguish between different social classes. In the following passage, the waiter can speak only pidgin, while Sagoe, one of the interpreters, speaks standard English:

'What is the matter?' he asked pushing the tray back into the waiter's hands.  
 'E no wan' pay for in drink.'  
 'Then you should have called the manager.'  
 'Manager no dey. I no fit take dat kind ting. Governor-General self, e no fit beat me in execution of my duty.'  
 'You realise he is my guest?'  
 'Wetin e wan make I do? E done pass my time for closing. I tell am say I . . .'  
 (ITN 92)

There is a considerable number of Yoruba words in *The Interpreters*; most of those words have their meanings explained in a glossary at the end of the novel.

Soyinka's second novel, *Season of Anomy*, tells about the idealistic rural community of Aiyero, which is isolated from the rest of the country by lagoons and has managed to maintain its traditional way of life. The protagonist of the novel, Ofeyi, is sent to Aiyero

by a big cocoa company to investigate how to exploit the natural resources of the remote area. The cocoa company can be seen to represent international capitalism and the corrupted governments of Nigeria. Ofeyi soon changes sides and starts to work for the benefit of Aiyero, which leads to the kidnapping of his girlfriend Iriyise. According to Amuta,

*Season of Anomy* brings us face to face with Soyinka's appreciation of the dynamics and problems of revolutionary action. Soyinka's concern is with an exploration, albeit in a mythic idiom, of the *means* and *end* of revolutionary action. Ofeyi's quest for Iriyise, which in Hellenic mythology approximates Orpheus's epic quest for Eurydice, provides the mythic framework for the plot of the novel. Ofeyi's quest, however, is both personal and communal, mythic and secular; it is a quest for a woman and an ideological essence. The essence is the miracle of the primordial egalitarianism and communalism of Aiyero. Given the immediate historical context of crisis-torn Nigeria, Ofeyi's questing career could be seen as a symbolic act which ultimately aims at rediscovering and popularising, through revolutionary strategies, the ideological foundations of Aiyero to replace the prevailing "season of anomy" in the wider national society. (1988: 125; italics in the original)

Amuta (1988: 127) concludes that in spite of *Season of Anomy* being "an aesthetically profound artistic accomplishment", it "remains a fatally flawed ideological statement on and fictional testimony to the historical experience of the Nigerian Civil War and its immediate socio-political aftermath".

Like in *The Interpreters*, Soyinka uses complex language in *Season of Anomy*, as can be seen in the following passage depicting the ritual slaughtering of fourteen bulls in Aiyero:

A nod from the old man and they left the enclosure. He stood alone among the fourteen ivory throats tendered to the sky, taut lines of veins and tendons which curved and plunged into throbbing breast chambers. Distended eyes betrayed a now present fear which strangely was not given voice. Ahime was a reed of life in the white stillness of a memorial ground, a flicker of motion among marble tombstones. An intuitive priest, he knew better than to disturb the laden altar until his followers had drunk their fill of it, he let the ponderous mass for the dead emit vibrations of abundance, potency and renewal, binding the pulses in his own person, building a force for life within the circle of the pen until he judged the moment right for the magical release. They saw him feel softly within the folds of his cloth, watch his hand emerge with a slender knife, a mere flutist blade, so insubstantial did it appear against the pillared throats of the bulls.

Iriyise beside him, a distant stillness. Her ivory neckpiece had merged with hidden rapids in the bull's [sic] convulsive throats. Caryatid and timeless, only the

warmth of her fingers reassured him of her living flesh, a willing presence at the altar. (SOA 16)

Both of Soyinka's novels (*Laittomuuden kausi* and *Tulkit*) were translated into Finnish by Risto Lehmusoksa, who has translated around seventy books. He received an award for his translation work in 1972.

**Amos Tutuola** (1920-1997) was born in Abeokuta in the Western Region of Nigeria. He went to school intermittently between 1930 and 1939, then trained to become a blacksmith, after which he served in the West African Air Corps during the Second World War. After the war, he worked as a messenger in the Labour Department of the colonial government. His first novel, *The Palm-Wine Drinkard and his dead Palm-Wine Tapster in the Deads' Town*, was published in London in 1952 by the prestigious publishing house Faber and Faber. It was the first full-length work of fiction written by a black African that was published in Britain. One year later it was published in the United States by Grove Press. The early reception of *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* in Britain and America was mostly favourable, sometimes even enthusiastic, as described by Lindfors (1975b: 3): "the first reviewers greeted Tutuola's unusual tale with wide-eyed enthusiasm, hailing the author as a primitive genius endowed with amazing originality and charming naiveté". Nigerians, however, did not agree with the claims of Tutuola's originality, since they regarded the book as a collection of stories based on traditional lore with which every Nigerian child was familiar. Nigerian critics also pointed out that similar stories had been written by D.O. Fagunwa in the Yoruba language as early as the 1930's. Tutuola has admitted that he had read Fagunwa's first novel at school (Lindfors 1975c: 295), but Afolayan (1975: 205) warns against the conclusion that Tutuola is simply imitating Fagunwa because both story-tellers draw on the same traditional Yoruba folklore.

In spite of the Nigerian criticism, Western reviewers continued to praise Tutuola. The most influential review is said to be the one written by the Welsh poet Dylan Thomas, which was published in *The Observer* in July 1952. Thomas gives a good summary of the *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* in his article:

This is the brief, thronged, grisly and bewitching story, or series of stories, written in young English by a West African, about the journey of an expert and devoted palm-wine drinkard through a nightmare of indescribable adventures, all simply and carefully described, in the spirit-bristling bush. From the age of ten he drank 225 kegs a day, and wished to do nothing else; he knew what was good for

him, it was just what the witch-doctor ordered. But when his tapster fell from a tree and died, and as, naturally, he himself 'did not satisfy with water as with palm-wine,' he set out to search for the tapster in Deads' Town. [. . .] But mostly it's hard and haunted going until the drinkard and his wife reach Deads' Town, meet the tapster, and, clutching his gift of a miraculous, all-providing Egg, are hounded out of the town by dead babies. [. . .] The writing is nearly always terse and direct, strong, wry, flat and savoury; the big, and often comic, terrors are as near and understandable as the numerous small details of price, size, and number; and nothing is too prodigious or too trivial to put down in this tall, devilish story. (1975: 7-8)

Tutuola's language, "young English" as Thomas described it in the excerpt above, also received a fair amount of attention in the early reviews. Tutuola was praised for his innovative, fresh style, but, as Palmer (1979: 21) points out, many early critics assumed that Tutuola deliberately manipulated the language which he knew well. In fact, Tutuola wrote his novel in the only English he knew. He went to school only for six years, and his limited formal education shows in the many interferences from his mother tongue Yoruba. The resulting language could be called "Tutuola's idiolect" (Zabus 1991: 109), as some Nigerian critics labelled it, but a more accurate definition is probably given by Afolayan, a Yoruba himself, when he writes that "Tutuola's English is 'Yoruba English' in the sense that it is representative of the English of the Yoruba users at a point on a scale of bilingualism" (1975: 198). And based on this observation, Afolayan (1975: 199) claims that Tutuola's English is a variety of Nigerian English, a claim which many other Nigerians have opposed vehemently. The reception of *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* can thus be summarised like this: "To native speakers of English Tutuola's splintered style was an amusing novelty; to educated Nigerians who had spent years honing and polishing their English it was a schoolboy's abomination" (Lindfors 1975c: 303). The frequent use of Yoruba features in *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* also affects the intelligibility of the novel. As Afolayan (1975: 208) observes, "Tutuola may not be fully comprehensible to any but a Yoruba-English bilingual, particularly the one who is a native speaker of Yoruba".

In spite of his poor mastery of English, Tutuola wanted to write his novel in this language because he had an international audience in mind. He has explained his aims in a letter to Bernth Lindfors: "I wrote the [sic] *Palm-Wine Drinkard* for the people of the other countries to read the Yoruba folk-lore [. . .] My purpose of writing is to make other people to understand more about Yoruba people and in fact they have already understood us more than ever before" (Tutuola's personal communication to Lindfors,

May 16, 1968; cited in Lindfors 1975c: 280). It was then the publisher's decision not to correct Tutuola's English more than was considered necessary (there is a page from the manuscript on page 24 of the novel showing the slight corrections made by the publisher). Armstrong (1975: 219) reports that this decision was taken by Sir Geoffrey Faber personally, in order to permit "a work of major significance to reach the public in all the striking and often breathtaking originality of its prose".

In addition to Tutuola's problems with English, there is another complicating factor in *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*, i.e. Tutuola's attempt to transpose an oral narrative into a written form. The text consists basically of short, loose episodes that form "a collection of traditional tales strung together on the lifeline of a common hero" (Lindfors 1975c: 283). The style of the novel is essentially oral, giving the impression that the narrator, the drinkard, is speaking and not writing. Oral techniques include repetition and questions directed to the audience. In *West Africa* magazine, it was claimed that Tutuola's "spoken and written English are identical and he writes exactly what presents itself to his mind" (*West Africa*, May 1, 1954, page 389, as cited in Lindfors 1975c: 285). One Yoruba critic, Babasola Johnson, added to this that Tutuola's style "consists largely in [sic] translating Yoruba ideas into English" (*West Africa*, April 10, 1954, page 322, as cited in Lindfors 1975c: 285).

Tutuola's original style is evident in the following example, which shows some nonstandard use of English and the stringing together of sentences, a method Tutuola adopted from oral story-telling:

But as he had eaten all the food which had been prepared against the night, then we began to cook other food, but when it was the time to put the food down from the fire, he put it down for himself and at the same time, he began to eat that again as it was very hot, before we could stop him, he had eaten all the food and we tried all our best to take it from him, but we could not do it at all. (PWD 33)

Tutuola's Yoruba English was the only English variety he knew, and there was no protest or decolonising aim in his writing. As was stated above, Tutuola chose to write in English simply because he wanted to reach as wide an audience as possible. Therefore, his bending of English is mostly caused by unintentional interference from his mother tongue Yoruba. However, Tutuola manages to affect the dominant position of English, Zabus claims, because "*The Palm-Wine Drinkard* functions as an imperfect transcription of an oral tale, in which Yoruba interferes as more than just a *non-language* and English

does not have the traditional authority of a major written language" (1991: 120; italics in the original). The Finnish translator of *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* (**Palmuviinijuoppo ja hänen kuollut palmuviininlaskijansa kuolleiden kylässä**), Reijo Tuomi, translated also two novels by the African-American James Baldwin in the 1960s, and he wrote three detective stories in the 1970s.

Even though many critics predicted that Tutuola would not be able to write more books using the same style, in the following fifteen years he published five new "ghost novels" (Collins 1969: 26): *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* (1954), *Simbi and the Satyr of the Dark Jungle* (1955), *The Brave African Huntress* (1958), *Feather Woman of the Jungle* (1962), and *Ajaiyi and His Inherited Poverty* (1967). Fourteen years later, *The Witch Herbalist of the Remote Town* (1981) was published, followed by *The Wild Hunter in the Bush of Ghosts* (1982), *Pauper, Brawler, and Slanderer* (1987) and *The Village Witch Doctor and Other Stories* (1990). With growing experience, Tutuola succeeded in improving his use of English (Afolayan 1975: 194), and consequently his later books were written in a slightly less nonstandard language. The themes in his literary output, however, did not change much, and his work can be summarised as Peters (1993: 15) does: "The factual and the fantastic, the traditional and the technological cohabit in his landscapes without friction, and his settings are invariably the primordial forest peopled more often with creatures who have never been among the 'alives'". And, as Peters (1993: 15) observes, the fascination of Tutuola's stories for Europeans may partly result from the fact that the adventures in the forest were just what was expected from the mysterious Africa, in accordance with the novels of Conrad and Cary, among others.

## 4. Translation and postcolonial texts

### 4.1 Translation strategies and norms

Translation research in which translations were evaluated mainly on the basis of the notion of equivalence dominated translation studies up to the early 1970s. Since then, broader issues, such as context, conventions and the history of translation, have started to receive more attention, and descriptive considerations have gained in popularity. The perspective of translation research has widened from individual words and sentences to the level of texts and beyond. Lefevere and Bassnett (1990: 1) called this change of emphasis 'the cultural turn' in translation studies. In addition to linguistics and comparative literature, translation scholars started to draw on sciences such as psychology, cultural studies, sociology, anthropology and philosophy for methodologies and research frameworks. The emergence of this interdisciplinary approach involved the realisation that translating takes place in a certain linguistic-cultural situation where certain constraints exist which affect the decision-making of the translators. Such constraints, or norms, have become an important object of investigation in translation studies, especially in the descriptive branch of it.

Rather than studying translations and translating from either a linguistic or a cultural studies perspective, it is often more fruitful to combine these approaches, as is advocated, for example, by Tymoczko (2002). She recommends the connecting of "the macroscopic" and "the microscopic direction", or the context and culture on the one hand and the small details of the text on the other (2002: 17). As it is part of my aim to study whether and how traditional images of Africa have affected the translating of West African novels into Finnish, this fits into the "macroscopic" side of the method, while the "microscopic" aspect in this study are the linguistic elements that africanise the anglophone West African texts, and the rendering of such elements into Finnish.

The "microscopic" aspect can further be divided into two levels, as presented by Séguinot (1989: 39), who makes a distinction between *global* and *local* translation strategies. Séguinot (1989: 24) investigated the translation process between French and English and observed that "[a] global working strategy determines how literal or free a translated text will be overall". The global translation strategy then governs the lower-level choices between various translation options during the translating (1989: 34). For

example, if the translator wants to stay close to the source text, certain local translation strategies are preferred over others, while freer translations call for different local strategies (1989: 36). Global translation strategies can thus be seen to refer to the translator's initial decision to give more weight either to the source or target pole while translating a given text, and local strategies are the individual decisions on how to translate linguistic items and segments from the levels of phonemes and words up to sentences and even paragraphs.

The global level of translation, i.e. the choice between more literal and freer translations, can be seen to correspond to the famous claim made two hundred years ago by the German theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher (2004: 49; originally 1813) when he was lecturing about translation methods:

In my opinion, there are only two possibilities. Either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him. These two paths are so very different from one another that one or the other must certainly be followed as strictly as possible, any attempt to combine them being certain to produce a highly unreliable result and to carry with it the danger that writer and reader might miss each other completely.

Schleiermacher favoured the first option, as he expected translations to enrich the German language. The ideal in this option is a translation practice where linguistic and cultural differences of the source text are preserved, so that the readers of translated texts would be able to feel that they are reading a translation. It is, however, argued that strict adherence to one or the other of the translation options which Schleiermacher requires is impossible in actual translation practice. As Toury observes, there is

a tension between two incompatible postulates: an *adequacy* postulate, dictating maximal representation of a pre-existing text composed in another language, and an *acceptability* postulate, dictating the appropriate position of TT [target text] within the relevant target system(s). [. . . E]very actual translation occupies a certain position *between* these two postulated extremes. This position cannot be defined in advance because it is ever-changing, and its establishment forms an integral part of the study of translation performance. One thing is sure, however: it never coincides with any of the two polar alternatives. It is the inherent difference between adequacy and acceptability which explains the inevitable occurrence of interlanguage in translation (1980: 75; italics in the original)



A similar scale as between the terms *adequacy* and *acceptability* can be seen to exist between *foreignisation* and *domestication*, terms that were introduced by Venuti (1995b: 20) to discuss the two extreme poles of preserving the linguistic and cultural features of the source texts and producing target texts that are close to the target-culture norms and consequently recognisable and familiar to target readers. Venuti (1998: 11) argues likewise that it is not possible to produce a strictly foreignised or domesticated target text, because

[m]ost literary projects are initiated in the domestic culture, where a foreign text is selected to satisfy different tastes from those that motivated its composition and reception in its native culture. [. . . T]he very function of translating is assimilation, the inscription of a foreign text with domestic intelligibilities and interests.

Thus, at least some domestication is inevitable, as translating aims at making a source text comprehensible in target cultural terms.

The terminology used for the global level of translation differs among translation scholars. Gambier (2010: 416) sums up the terminological confusion when he describes the scale between the two opposing poles to be between “adequacy (source-oriented) and acceptability (target-oriented), fluency (domesticating) and exoticism (foreignizing), and between formal and dynamic equivalence”. According to him, the choice of the global translation strategy can have an effect on the construction and justification of “a certain type of text and a certain type of identity and power relationship between languages/cultures” (2010: 416).

The global translation strategy is chosen first and it then dictates what kinds of local strategies the translator will use in the translation of lower-level textual segments, from phonemes to sentences. Translation strategies are ways to solve translation problems. A translation strategy is defined by Lörscher (1991: 76) as “a potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language into another”. Translation problems, in turn, are defined by Lörscher as “those text segments which the subjects cannot translate or which the subjects have tried to translate but whose results they then consider to be inadequate” (1991: 80; *italics deleted*). Problematic source-text segments can be identified, for example, in places where translators want to revise the emerging target texts. Lörscher (1991:201) further claims that translation problems “function as both the

starting-point of and the reason for the use of translation strategies. As a consequence, translation strategies only occur when translation problems exist".

Lörscher's view has been criticised by many researchers. For example, Jääskeläinen (1993) questions the usefulness of the notions *problem-orientedness* and *potential consciousness* as the defining criteria for the existence of translation strategies. Instead, she wants to include *unproblematic processing* into the category of strategic translatorial behaviour, because she believes that "strategic behaviour also takes place when no problems in the traditional sense exist" (1993: 106). This view is in accordance with situations where, for example, the translator simply transfers a word from the source text to the target text, or where the target solution is a dictionary equivalent or a literal translation of the source-text word or expression.

Potential consciousness in Lörscher's definition of a translation strategy is opposed by Jääskeläinen (1993: 109-110) on the grounds that translating also involves unconscious mental processing, and this can be studied empirically. She takes as an example the common principle among non-professional translators that every word in the source text needs to be translated somehow, while professional translators do not follow such a translation practice. According to Jääskeläinen, the behaviour of non-professional translators concerning the importance of reproducing every word in the target text is often unconscious, possibly acquired at school, while professional translators have been thinking about the necessity of word-for-word translation during their studies and working career, and consequently deviations from this principle are potentially conscious decisions. Though the preference for word-for-word translation among non-professional translators is often unconscious, it is nevertheless a translation strategy. A different view is presented by Gambier (2010: 417), who claims that solving translation problems cannot be unconscious but admits that even situations where there are no problems require the translator to make a decision: "the absence of a problem does not lead to a [sic] non-strategic behaviour".

Following Gambier's argument, Pedersen (2011) claims that "non-strategic translating" does not mean that no translation strategy is employed at all, as translating is bound to involve continuous use of strategies. Instead, for him, non-strategic means that "the choice [between different translation strategies] is more or less obvious, and most options, even though they do exist, never really become activated, as they could be seen as redundant" (2011: 42). In such cases, then, the choice of a suitable translation strategy causes no problems for the translator. On the other hand, when a translation

problem occurs, a range of possible translation strategies are activated from which the translator chooses the one he or she deems the most suitable for solving the problem, and this type of translating is then considered strategic by Pedersen (2011: 42). Translation strategies in this sense are a part of the translation process, where translators use them in decision-making and choose between different strategies to reach the optimum translation solution under the prevailing circumstances.

Yet, translation strategies can also be studied from the products of translation processes, i.e. the translated texts, as translation strategies, besides referring “to things which take place during the translation process”, also “relate to things which happen with texts, such as domestication or foreignisation” (Jääskeläinen 2009: 376). Target-text solutions can therefore be taken to indicate which local translation strategies were employed during the translation process to solve problems encountered in the source text, because, as Jääskeläinen (2009: 376) puts it, “what takes place in the process will be reflected in the product”. Translation processes can then be reconstructed starting from the target texts with the help of translation solutions observable in the target texts.

The comparison of target-text solutions and source-text problems enables the researcher to establish translation relationships that obtain between the solutions and problems. During the analysis stage, a high number of pairs of translation solutions and translation problems can usually be extracted from the target and source texts, and the translation relationships that obtain between them can be categorised with the help of translation strategies. As Pedersen (2011: 71) puts it, translation strategies are “categories into which translation solutions can be grouped, on the basis of their having been arrived at through the same or at least a similar process of going from ST [source text] to TT [target text]”. Many classifications of translation strategies have been proposed by translation scholars. An early classification was provided by Vinay and Darbelnet in their book *Stylistique comparée du français et de l’anglais. Méthode de traduction* (1958), which includes seven basic translation strategies: *borrowing*, *calque*, *literal translation*, *transposition*, *modulation*, *equivalence* and *adaptation*. This classification has been developed further, for example, by Chesterman (1997) and Molina and Hurtado (2002). I will return to the classification of translation strategies in section 4.3 below.

The aim in earlier approaches to translation was to produce target texts that would be equivalent to their source texts. Traditionally, equivalence has been regarded “as both the aim and precondition of translation: every translation was thought to strive to attain

equivalence, and only those renderings which achieved equivalence of the required kind to a sufficient degree could be qualified as translations” (Hermans 1999b: 60). The notion of equivalence as the defining criterion of translation, however, has been criticised in the past few decades by many translation studies scholars. For example, Snell-Hornby (1995: 22) argues that “equivalence is unsuitable as a basic concept in translation theory”, because the term is “imprecise and ill-defined (even after a heated debate of over twenty years)” and it gives “an illusion of symmetry between languages which hardly exists beyond the level of vague approximations”. In the translation research approach inspired by deconstruction, equivalence in translation is considered an unattainable goal because of the evasive nature of the meaning of words: “translators cannot be absolutely certain about the meanings they translate” (Pym 2010: 116). In spite of such claims, however, equivalence is still, as Pym observes, “close to what many translators, clients, and translation users believe about translation” (2010: 6).

A different kind of approach to the notion of equivalence is taken by Toury, for whom any translational relation between the source and target texts is considered to be a relation of equivalence (1995: 61). Toury defines equivalence as “that set of relationships which will have been found to distinguish appropriate from inappropriate modes of translation performance for the culture in question” (1995: 86). Thus, a descriptive study proceeds from the assumption that equivalence does exist between a target and source text, and we only need to discover how this equivalence was realised, i.e. what was changed during the translation process and what was not.

A descriptive study aims at description, explanation and prediction of translational phenomena, not at recommendations of how one should translate (Toury 1995: 2). Such recommendations belong to the applied side of translation studies, which consists, for example, of translator education. Toury calls his approach descriptive translation studies, because it avoids prescriptive statements about translation and examines actual translation practices. His starting point is the assertion that “translations are facts of target cultures” (1995: 29), in other words, that it is in the receiving culture that foreign texts are selected for translation and strategies are chosen to translate them. Translations thus emerge in a certain socio-cultural situation where they are expected to meet some needs, and translators can consequently be said to work to a large extent in the interest of the target culture (Toury 1995: 12). As Toury stresses the importance of the target end in the translation process and his research method starts from the evaluation of the target text’s acceptability as a (translated) text in the receiving culture, his approach to

translation has been called *target-oriented*.

As the analysis proceeds, however, the target text (or actually textual segments of it) is mapped onto its source text, with the aim of discovering coupled pairs of target solutions and source problems and establishing relationships that prevail between them, “i.e., what is more likely to remain invariant under transformation and what will change” (Toury 1995: 58). Thus, studies may also focus on shifts, which can be defined as “departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL [source language] to the TL [target language]” (Catford 1980 [1965]: 73). The following steps in Toury’s procedure are a search for regular patterns in the target-source relationships, and, based on these patterns, the establishment of the norm of translation equivalence and the concept of translation that have governed the translator’s work (Toury 1995: 37). When the concept of translation has been established for one pair of source and target texts, it becomes possible to speculate on the constraints, or norms, that may have directed the decision-making process.

An important methodological concept in Toury’s approach is thus norms, which can be defined as the internalised behavioural constraints that reflect the shared values of a community. Hermans (1991: 163) defines a norm as “a socially shared notion of what is correct”. Translation strategies are connected to norms in that strategies can be defined as “ways in which translators seek to conform to norms” (Chesterman 1997: 88). Hermans (1999a: 75) sees norms “operat[ing] at the intermediate level between competence and performance, where competence stands for the options translators have at their disposal and performance refers to the set of options actually selected”. The options stand for translation strategies, from which translators choose the most suitable ones dictated by the norms. Norms can thus provide explanations for translation decisions. As Hermans (1999a: 80) points out, “[t]he term ‘norm’ refers to both a regularity in behavior, i.e. a recurring pattern, and to the underlying mechanism which accounts for this regularity”. This underlying mechanism has two aspects: psychological and social, as it contributes to the translator’s choices and actions conforming to the values and preferences of the community for whom the translator works. Norms increase stability in interpersonal relations, as they make people’s actions more predictable by having “a socially regulatory function” (Hermans 1999a: 80).

Translational norms are not readily observable for investigation, unlike the products of norm-governed behaviour, i.e. the translated texts (Toury 1995: 65). Norms can be discovered when translated texts are studied and regular patterns observed. Toury (1995:

56-59) distinguishes between three kinds of translational norms: *preliminary*, *initial* and *operational*. Preliminary norms govern the choice of text types, for example literary vs. non-literary, or even individual texts to be translated, and the overall translation strategy, for example, whether a text is translated directly from the source language or through an intermediate language. Next, initial norms influence the choice a translator makes before starting to translate, between whether to commit oneself to the textual relations of the original text and the norms of the source culture, or to the linguistic and literary norms of the target culture, i.e. between adequacy and acceptability. Finally, operational norms direct the local decisions made during the translation process, and they thus govern the translation relationships that will obtain between target solutions and source problems, that is, what will change and what will not during the translation work. All these three levels of norms seem to be important for the present study, as I investigate the choice of West African texts for translation into Finnish, and what kinds of global and local (micro-level) translation strategies were employed in their translation.

Toury (1995: 67) goes on to remind us that the translator's behaviour can never be expected to be fully consistent. In addition to actual translations, other material such as theoretical and critical statements by translators, editors and critics can also be a source of normative comments which can help reconstruct the translational norms in a given society. Such statements may reveal "what translators should be doing, what they want to do, or what they want to be seen to be doing" (Pym 1998: 111). The aim for Toury (1995: 69) is to transcend the study of norms and to move on to the elaboration of general laws of translational behaviour.

Chesterman (1997: 64-69) divides norms into *expectancy* (product) and *professional* (process) norms. Expectancy norms refer to reader expectations "concerning what a translation (of this type) should be like" (1997: 64), with regard to, for example, lexical choice, style and the degree of grammaticality. These expectations may also have an economic or ideological component, and power relations between cultures may influence them. Professional norms, in turn, are dictated by expectancy norms, as professional norms strive to the production of a satisfactory target text, satisfactory to the target audience, that is. Chesterman lists three professional norms: *the accountability norm* demands that translators should be loyal to all the parties involved in the translation act (the source-text writer, commissioner and prospective readership, among others); *the communication norm* demands that translators aim at optimal communication between

all relevant parties; and *the relation norm* demands that translators establish “an appropriate relation of relevant similarity” (1997: 69) between the source and target texts.

These three norms seem to be prescriptive, but Chesterman (1997: 70) states that they derive only partly from norm authorities (for example, professional translators, teachers and critics). Another source of norms is their intersubjective existence as practices that professional translators follow. Norm breaking, in other words, not following this collective experience of translators, often leads to criticism and sanctions, which gives norms a binding character. Chesterman (1993: 21) presents as an example of a hypothetical communication norm a demand that culture-bound terms in certain types of source texts should be explained because a higher-ranking expectancy norm states that target-culture readers do not want to encounter strange terms or concepts in certain types of translated texts. Translators who follow this norm would then explain foreign words (borrowings) inside target texts or in footnotes, or they would replace such words by target-language words. As culture-bound material and other ‘strange/unusual’ linguistic and cultural elements are a common feature in anglophone West African literature, it seems that at least the concepts of expectancy norm and communication norm are relevant to the present study.

Expectations of the target audience are likely to have an effect on the choice of texts to be translated. Venuti (1998: 12) has concluded from his studies on the Anglo-American cultural sphere that “[t]he popular aesthetic requires fluent translations that produce the illusory effect of transparency, and this means adhering to the current standard dialect while avoiding any dialect, register, or style that calls attention to words as words and therefore preempts the reader’s identification”. Adherence to such a practice of translation, according to Venuti (1998: 12), “may enable a foreign text to engage a mass readership, even a text from an excluded foreign literature, and thereby initiate a significant canon reformation”.

Koskinen (2007: 336) similarly reports that the preferred translation practice in Finland seems to aim at comprehensibility, fluency and the avoidance of clumsy linguistic structures: “lähdekieli ei saa ‘paistaa läpi’” [the source language should not ‘shine through’; my translation]. Clarity and good Finnish are probably some of the norms that govern the translation of African literature in Finland. Some evidence for this suggestion is found in the Master’s thesis on the translation and reception of African literature in Finland, where Tervonen (1997) interviewed three translators of African fiction. According to them, there are three characteristics of a good translator: the ability

to produce a text that is comprehensible, the capability to enter into the feelings of the author and characters, and the interest to look up facts, for example, about the material reality in the novels. The translators further clarified that a comprehensible text means that unfamiliar concepts are explained imperceptibly inside the text (1997: 76). Translators' views about good translating practice can be taken to reflect expectancy norms prevalent in the target society, as translators are usually aware of such norms and try to follow them during the translation work.

Besides translators' comments, another source of statements about expectancy norms are critical reviews in the press. Tervonen (1997: 78) studied reviews of translated African literature in Finnish newspapers and observed that comprehensibility and fluency were considered important criteria in the definition of a good translated text. In a more recent study, Tervonen (2007: 236) analysed 276 articles about Finnish translations of African literature published in newspapers in 1976-2002. She reports that many reviewers stressed the informational value of African literature: novels from Africa were expected to shed light on the history and culture of this continent, which was generally felt to be distant and alien. At the same time, strangeness of the text was considered to guarantee an authentic African point of view. Some Finnish reviewers of African novels expressed a wish for an "interpreter" to "filter" the strangeness for Finnish readers, and novels by white writers like André Brink were considered to fulfil such a purpose through enhancing identification with the alien world encountered in African novels (Tervonen 2007: 237).

The terms norm and convention are sometimes used interchangeably, and the distinction between the two terms is often made on the basis of sanctions, which result from breaking a norm but not from breaking a convention. Norms, conventions and regularities can be seen to be situated on a cline between the end points of idiosyncracies and rules (for example, Pedersen 2011: 30). Idiosyncracies refer to the behaviour of an individual translator, and when recurring patterns are observed in his or her behaviour, these are called regularities. When similar regularities are noticed in the behaviour of many translators, these become conventions. Norms have their origin in conventions and emerge from these when, in the words of Hermans (1999a: 81), conventions "fall victim to their own success. If a convention has served its purpose sufficiently well for long enough, the expectation, on all sides, that a certain course of action will be adopted in a certain type of situation may grow beyond a mere preference and acquire a binding character". Even more binding than norms are rules, which often receive their force from



authorities and are codified in some way. One example are the rules of grammar (Pedersen 2011: 32). A law, as the word is used in translation studies, has a different character, as “[laws] are not binding in the same way as e.g. rules are. Instead, laws are of a universal nature, arrived at, not by legislation or other authoritarian means, but through observation by translation scholars” (Pedersen 2011: 32-33). For Toury (1995), the formulation of universal laws is the ultimate and, as Pedersen observes, probably utopian aim of descriptive translation studies. Toury (1995: 267, 274) has so far proposed two laws of translation: *the law of growing standardization* and *the law of interference*.

Pym (1998: 111) criticises translation scholars like Toury who practise descriptive research on norms for seeing their object primarily in terms of regular patterns, stability and social order, and he wants to introduce into the discussion the idea of change, which may manifest itself, for example, in norm-breaking. Indeed, Toury (1995: 62) claims that instability is one of the important properties of norms. According to him, norms are unstable, changing entities, and he distinguishes three types of competing norms, which can be found at the same time in a society: those that dominate the centre of the culture, the remnants of previous norms, and the traces of emerging ones. Non-normative behaviour is also possible, especially when “one’s social standing is high enough to start *resisting* normative pressure with no real risk of negative sanctions. From that point on, a translator may not only act contrary to prevailing norms him-/herself, but may ultimately effect *changes* in them for the culture s/he is working in” (Toury 1995: 253; italics in the original). On the one hand, then, norms direct translators to follow established ways in translating, but on the other hand, when norms are studied and norm-directed behaviour and phenomena described and explained, changes in translational norms can be detected, which can then be acquired by observation or taught to new generations of translators. In this way, translation research and practice can interact.

A new approach to translation has recently emerged which is more interested in the status of the translator than in the translation product. As investigation in the framework of translation sociology has increased, the focus has gradually been turned from the translated texts to translator ethics and identity. Especially the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has provided new insights into translation research, and his concept of *habitus* has become widely used among translation scholars as well. Influenced by Bourdieu’s ideas, Gouanvic (2005: 157-158; italics in the original) even claims that:

Translation as a practice has little to do with conforming to norms through the deliberate use of specific strategies; in other words, it is not a question of consciously choosing from a panoply of available solutions. Norms do not explain the more or less subjective and random choices made by translators who are free to translate or not to translate, to follow or not to follow the original closely. If a translator imposes a rhythm upon the text, a lexicon or a syntax that does not originate in the source text and thus substitutes his or her voice for that of the author, this is essentially not a conscious strategic choice but an effect of his or her *habitus*, as acquired in the target literary field.

This view is opposed, for example, by Venuti (2013), who claims that the concept of *habitus* as defined by Bourdieu (1990: 56) as “a spontaneity without consciousness or will” “oversimplifies human behaviour” (2013: 7). According to Venuti, Gouanvic is right in considering norms to be linguistic and cultural values that are learned and can be used unconsciously, but in such a case norms could be seen as part of the translator’s *habitus*. Venuti further argues that translators also make choices between different options by using deliberation or intentionality, which could not be accounted for by the notion of *habitus* as Bourdieu (1990: 56) defines it. Venuti (2013: 7) continues his criticism by stating that “[t]he translator may indeed choose to impose a rhythm, lexicon, or syntax, but because such linguistic and literary forms are likely to be selected from the resources available in a literary field, they can be considered trans-individual elements which can hardly be identified with an individual voice”.

It is not clear whether in the passage cited above Gouanvic argues that norms are unconscious (as Venuti claims), or whether he means that the deliberate employment of translation strategies implies that the translator is aware of the existence of norms. Contrary to Venuti’s view above, for example Pedersen claims that norms are “known” by the translator: when a translator is making a decision between different strategies during the translation process, there are “a number of possible solutions to choose from. His or her experience which includes *knowledge of translation norms*, tells her which solution or solutions to use in the given situation” (Pedersen 2011: 37; italics added). Pedersen (2011: 37-38), however, adds that the translator may not “be consciously aware of the norm” but acts on the basis of reasoning that the solution he or she chooses “is the one we normally use in this situation”.

Chesterman (1997: 54) similarly argues that norms are “known” to people who act according to them: “[i]ndividuals have individual knowledge of norms, but norms are only recognized by virtue of their social existence. Norms reside in the social consciousness, but they must be (at least potentially) accessible to individual

consciousness". He also notes that "norms are accessible to intersubjective consciousness: we know them and can talk about them" (1997: 55). For the present study, the concept of *habitus* does not seem to be of use, as norms provide a good conceptual tool to investigate the translation solutions and strategies discovered in the analysis section. However, when the *habitus* is defined as "the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (Bourdieu 1990: 56), the concept might be helpful in explaining the effects on translated texts of, for example, a translator's long-term exposure to colonialist discourse that may have taken place in Finland, at least a few decades ago.

Toury claims that descriptive translation scholars should "refrain from value judgments in selecting subject matter or in presenting findings, and/or refuse to draw any conclusions in the form of recommendations for 'proper' behaviour" (1995: 2). Yet, as Tymoczko (2007: 146) argues, no research can be objective, free of subjective interpretation and ideological assumptions. Similarly, Venuti (1998: 28) points out that judgments are a necessary part of every cultural theory, and value-free translation studies would prevent scholars "from considering the wider cultural impact that translation research might have" (1998: 29).

The descriptive approach to translation has been applied in many research projects in recent decades, and Toury's method seems suitable to the present study as well, where I investigate how anglophone West African novels have been translated into Finnish. Following Toury's method, the analysis proceeds from extracting coupled pairs of translation solutions and problems to the study of translation relationships that obtain between them and to the description of translation strategies employed by the translators to translate africanised English into Finnish. Based on regular patterns discovered during the analysis, the norm of translation equivalence and the concept of translation are established that have governed the translation work. Then the formulation of norms that have prevailed in Finland in connection with this type of literature can be attempted, and the investigation may also reveal changes in these norms during the 47 years covered by the material studied. In the study of regular patterns and their connection to norms, it is important to remember that if regular patterns are found only in the behaviour of an individual translator, these can be accounted for by idiosyncracies or regularities, in other words, personal preferences. When regular patterns are observed in texts translated by different translators, these can then be taken to indicate norm-governed behaviour (Pedersen 2011: 34).

## 4.2 Postcolonial translation studies

Tymoczko (2007: 43) claims that the second phase of descriptive translation studies started with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the rise of postcolonialism and globalisation about two decades ago. Postcolonial translation studies, however, had emerged already in the mid-1980s, when anthropologists and ethnographers struggling with the problems of how to convey "primitive thought" into European languages started to realise that translation was more important to their field of study than had earlier been thought (Robinson 1997: 1-3). Postcolonial studies have gradually shifted the focus of translation research beyond the Western concerns and dominant discourses and into the non-Western theories of translation (Munday 2010: 425), and into issues of ideology, power inequalities, and ethics. In the translation of postcolonial texts, the transfer does not usually take place between two equal cultures, since there are often differences in prestige and sometimes huge asymmetries of political and cultural power between the source and target cultures. To further complicate the matter, there are not always two distinct languages involved in the translation process, as the source text is often a hybrid, composed of more than one language.

Postcolonial translation studies have been defined as "the study of translation in its relation to empire" (Robinson 1997: 1). Thus, *postcolonial* in this connection does not refer only to the time *after* the end of colonialism, but also to the earlier era when the former colonies were still colonised, and even to the time of the first contacts between Europeans and peoples of the other parts of the world (for other definitions of the term, see Robinson 1997: 13-17). Early works about translation in a postcolonial context include Rafael's *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (1993 [1988]) about the colonial contact in the Philippines; Cheyfitz's *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan* (1991) about the conquest of America; and Niranjana's *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (1992) about translation in colonial India. As these texts demonstrate, translation played an important role in the occupation and colonisation of other continents by Europeans.

Besides being a means of colonisation, translation can also have a role in decolonisation (the dismantling of colonial structures in former colonies, see chapter 1). In postcolonial translation studies, political and ideological considerations of translating have a prominent place, and such considerations include the investigation of what gets

translated and how. Basing his studies on translation between French and Arabic in France and Egypt, Jacquemond (1992: 155) argues that there are certain features that characterise translation “in the context of cultural hegemony-dependency”, i.e. between powerful and marginal cultures. For example, marginal cultures are likely to rely more on translating from powerful cultures than vice versa, and when powerful cultures do translate works from marginal cultures, such works tend to have a limited specialist audience, because the texts are perceived to be difficult and mysterious. In contrast, works translated from powerful cultures to marginal ones have a remarkably wider readership, as these texts are usually translated accessibly for ordinary readers (Jacquemond 1992: 139-144). Also, powerful cultures usually choose for translation works from marginal cultures that conform to stereotypes about such cultures, and writers in marginal cultures who want to reach a wider international audience try to fit their works into such stereotypes, thus assimilating them to target expectations and conventions (Jacquemond 1992: 150-155; Robinson 1997: 109). Marginal cultures in this model can be conceived as dominated nations or former colonies, while powerful cultures can be seen as dominating nations or former colonising countries. However, when colonies attain independence, these hypotheses are not necessarily valid any more, since the previously dominant Western values and ideologies may face increasing resistance in former colonies. Also, postcolonial writers may start to question the exoticisation and naturalisation of their cultures in the West, and with increasing self confidence, they may resort to writing techniques that do not take into account Western expectations; instead, they may start to present the life and culture of their societies as they experience it themselves.

When postcolonial authors write in a hegemonic language, for example English or French, they often have a wider international audience in mind. They then have to choose, according to Tymoczko (1999b: 21-22), between

a fairly aggressive presentation of unfamiliar cultural elements in which differences, even ones likely to cause problems for a receiving audience, are highlighted, or [authors] can choose an assimilative presentation in which likeness or ‘universality’ is stressed and cultural differences are muted and made peripheral to the central interests of the literary work. Similarly, linguistic features related to the source culture (such as dialect or unfamiliar lexical items) can be highlighted as defamiliarized elements in the text, or be domesticated in some way, or be circumvented altogether. The greater element of choice in the construction of an original text [as compared to a translated text] means that in the hands of a skilled writer it is easier to keep the text balanced, to manage the information load, and to

avoid mystifying or repelling elements of the receiving audience with a different cultural framework.

An interesting point to the discussion about anglophone writing in former British colonies is provided by Nayar (2010), who, drawing on Mukherjee (2000), argues that a postcolonial author writing in English seems to include more cultural material in his or her text than a writer writing in an indigenous language. In India, Nayar observes, “seeking to gain attention from a predominantly Western readership, [the writer] exhibits an ‘anxiety of Indianness’. This anxiety manifests as the forced use of ‘Indian’ myths, allegories of India and such exoticism” (2010: 147). For Nayar, the reason for this type of writing is that the writers want themselves to be seen as “the authentic voices of the Third World in the West. They have to be ‘national allegories’ and serve up signs of their being authentically Indian” (2010: 148; italics omitted). Nayar further refers to Huggan’s (2001: 19) “process of postcolonial exoticizing”, which means that “a Rushdie or a Tutuola or an Adichie is marketed as ‘authentic’ Third World writing, [. . . and m]arginality is the single greatest virtue these writers thrive upon in the global literary marketplace” (Nayar 2010: 148). Nayar, following Lau (2009), even suggests that a process which could be called “re-Orientalism” is presently taking place: “the postcolonial writer is doing what the colonials used to: offer orientalist images of their own cultures” (2010: 148).

Whether Nayar’s (2010) claims are true or not, translators do not have a similar choice as authors concerning the amount of cultural material, and consequently translators may face a situation where “elements that are difficult for the receiving audience will cluster; a translated text more than an original piece of literature thus risks losing balance at critical moments, making the information load too great for comfortable assimilation by the receiving audience” (Tymoczko 1999b: 22). In such a situation,

the translator is faced with the dilemma of faithfulness: to be ‘faithful’, such problematic factors must be transposed despite the difficulties they might cause to the sensibilities or cognitive framework of translator or audience; in obscuring or muting the cultural disjunctions, the translator ceases to be ‘faithful’ to the source text. This constraint of a text with cultural givens in a fixed ordering is a major factor behind the discourse regarding literalism that has been part of discussions of translation for some centuries. (Tymoczko 1999b: 21)

In spite of the problems inherent in being “faithful” to the source text, Niranjana

(1992) advocates a global translation strategy of literalism to repair the damage done by colonialism. It can even be claimed that she adheres to an extreme form of literalism when she writes, citing the words of Walter Benjamin (1989: 21 [1923]), that "instead of being concerned with reproducing the meaning of the original, a translation must 'lovingly and in detail incorporate the original's mode of signification,' thus holding back from communicating" (Niranjana 1992: 155). Robinson (1997: 109) believes that Niranjana wants to oppose assimilative or domesticating translation because it can be seen as

a primary tool of empire insofar as it encourages colonial powers (or more generally the 'stronger' or 'hegemonic' cultures) to translate foreign texts into their own terms, thus eradicating cultural differences and creating a buffer zone of assimilated 'sameness' around them. Members of hegemonic cultures are therefore never exposed to true difference, for they are strategically protected from the disturbing experience of the foreign – protected not only through assimilative translations but also through five-star hotels in third-world countries, and the like.

Niranjana, according to Robinson (1997: 109), tries to change this situation through "translation designed to retain and assert difference and diversity by sticking closely to the contours of the source text".

Another translation scholar who is known to oppose translating that produces fluent and readily intelligible target texts is Venuti (1995b, 1998), who prefers foreignising translation strategies that result in texts which remind the readers of the fact that they are reading a translated text. Robinson (1997:108) considers "neoliteralism" and foreignisation elitist strategies that produce difficult target texts, and he questions whether the translation strategy proposed by Niranjana really advances decolonising translation practice (Robinson 1997: 93). He further wonders whether there can be only one way to produce decolonising target texts, i.e. foreignisation, since the translation of postcolonial texts is a complex phenomenon which such a straightforward recommendation cannot cover fully (1997: 108). Consequently, Robinson (1997: 109-112) does not discern much difference between foreignising and domesticating translation strategies concerning their effectiveness in decolonisation. When domesticating translation methods are applied to texts that originate from marginal cultures, target readers may not notice the cultural specificity of the source texts, but neither does foreignisation offer a simple solution to the problem of cultural difference. According to Robinson (1997: 111), foreignising translation strategies may even result

in noncommunicating target texts that make "their authors, and the source culture in general, seem childish, backward, primitive, precisely the reaction foreignism is supposed to counteract". A result pointing in that direction was obtained in my earlier study (Lindfors 2001a), investigating the translating of a Zimbabwean novel into Finnish, where this response to the translator's foreignising translation strategies was noted in a press review of the novel.

As Robinson (1997: 112) observes, the binary opposition of foreignisation vs. domestication is based on the idea of two distinct languages, the source and the target language. Foreignising translation is source-oriented, while domesticating translation is target-oriented, assimilating source linguistic features into target norms and conventions. Postcolonial texts, however, do not usually fit into such a dichotomy easily. As was pointed out in Chapter 1 and earlier in this section, postcolonial source texts are often composed of more than one language, which makes them hybrid texts linguistically. Many anglophone West African writers have likewise produced hybrid texts when they "have transmuted English into a hybrid tongue, a half-way house between their indigenous mother tongues and this infinitely useful lingua franca" (Todd 1999: 389). The authorial techniques of insertion of African words into the texts and the use of dialects as well as Pidgin English are common devices to increase the hybridity of texts. As Mehrez (1992: 121) claims, such texts can be seen to exist in spaces "in-between":

These postcolonial texts, frequently referred to as 'hybrid' or 'métissés' because of the culturo-linguistic layering which exists within them, have succeeded in forging a new language that defies the very notion of a 'foreign' text that can be readily translatable into another language. With this literature we can no longer merely concern ourselves with conventional notions of linguistic equivalence, or ideas of loss and gain which have long been a consideration in translation theory. For these texts written by postcolonial bilingual subjects create a language 'in between' and therefore come to occupy a space 'in between'.

For Robinson (1997: 113), such texts occupy "hybridized middle grounds", and Bhabha (1998) uses also the term "Third Space" to describe a similar phenomenon.

Postcolonial translation studies has been increasingly affected by the approach called *cultural translation*, a term coined by Bhabha (1998 [1994]), one of the most important theorists in postcolonial literary studies. He bases his work mainly on poststructuralist theories, as do many other postcolonial critics. Postcolonial studies, in turn, has



informed much of the research conducted within postcolonial translation studies; consequently, many concepts said to have been introduced by Bhabha, such as *hybridity* and *in-between*, have central positions in postcolonial translation studies as well. Yet cultural translation in Bhabha's sense does not involve any interlingual transfer, because for him translation is "a general activity of communication between cultural groups" (Pym 2010: 143). Simon (1997: 462) has observed a similar phenomenon in cultural studies: "Despite the intensity of its current interest in postcoloniality, Anglo-American culture studies remains impenitently monolingual. Few cultural-studies theorists investigate the specifically linguistic question of postcolonial cultural transactions, preferring to treat 'translation' as a metaphor". It has rightly been questioned why the word *translation* needs to be used in these connections at all when terms such as migrancy, exile and diaspora that express approximately the same thing as cultural translation already exist and are in current use (see, for example, Trivedi 2007: 6). Bassnett and Trivedi (1999: 13) claim that in Bhabha's understanding of the concept of cultural translation "the word translation seems to have come full circle and reverted from its figurative literary meaning of an interlingual transaction to its etymological physical meaning of locational disrapture; translation itself seems to have been translated back to its origins". Consequently, they claim that in the framework of cultural translation, the concept *postcolonial translation* seems to involve tautology.

Bhabha's postcolonial criticism and its contribution to postcolonial translation studies are also criticised by other scholars. For example, Pettersson (1999) claims that Bhabha does not define his central notions properly, and that "his cryptic and abstract formulations hardly help the reader to grasp, let alone effectively employ, his theoretical concepts" (1999: 3). Batchelor (2009: 246) likewise argues that "[e]ven in those places in his discussion where Bhabha purports to provide examples [. . .] the discussion struggles to shift from the abstract to the concrete; instead of moving outside itself to substantiate and clarify its abstract reasoning, the discussion turns on itself in a proliferation of abstract statements".

In spite of such criticism, Bhabha still has a considerable influence on research in postcolonial translation studies. For example, recent books by Bandia (2008) and Batchelor (2009) have an approach that relies heavily on poststructuralism, and their results do not shed much light on the practical problems of the translation of africanised European source language into a European target language. Bandia's focus is mainly on African writing-as-translation (where the author writing in European languages is

considered a translator from an indigenous language) and how concepts used in translation studies can be applied to such writing, and he advocates the suitability of the notions *hybridity* and *inbetweenness* to the study of (untranslated) African literature. Batchelor (2009: 261), after discussing the applicability of Bhabha's and other poststructuralist theorising to her corpus, concludes her study on the translation of francophone African literature into English by recommending that translators present their translatorial solutions in paratextual material, for example, in introductions to the translated African works. She draws on Tymoczko's (1999a) notion of metonymic translation when she proposes that the status of translated texts as translations should be stressed, for example, on the covers of the books, and that translators should write prefaces to the translated texts where they explain that the texts are only partial representations of the source texts. This would contribute, she hopes, to the metonymic discourse of translation becoming more prominent in literary circles, "moving reviewers on from stale and unfruitful discussions of what may or may not have become lost in a translation and promoting a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of translation as a form of cultural interaction" (Batchelor 2009: 261). Paratextual information in the translated texts, Batchelor claims, would gradually increase the appreciation of linguistic innovation among the readers of translated African literature. The claim that paratextual material should be provided to make readers appreciate translated African texts is somehow at odds with the criticism she levels against Venuti (1998), who has produced translations that require introductions to explain his translation solutions to the readers. As Batchelor (2009: 239) observes, Venuti (1998: 19) has blamed a reviewer of his translation for being "uncooperative", a person who "refused to understand" the techniques "according to the explanation presented in [his] introduction". For Batchelor (2009: 239), Venuti's demand that the introduction to his translation should be taken into account when the text is being evaluated "is disconcerting, for it raises the question of whether the supposed effects of the translation techniques are actually achieved by the techniques themselves, or whether they are dependent on paratextual information".

Like Petterson (1999: 4), I find that Bhabha's texts contain too much "vague poststructuralist jargon", and I share his view that because Bhabha has a prominent position in postcolonial theorisation and criticism, we should be somehow worried, because "if Bhabha's own definitions, logic and rhetoric are [. . .] enigmatic and mercurial [. . .], then where does that leave postcolonial critics and [. . .] postcolonial

translation scholars worldwide?" Pettersson (1999: 5) calls for studies that "build on actual, contextual, historically-informed, sociocultural (including ideological) and textual groundedness in at least two cultures", and it is my aim to do such research.

### 4.3 Cultural translation

A different approach to the concept of *cultural translation* is provided by Tymoczko (2007: 221), who uses the term in a more traditional sense than Bhabha (section 4.2). For Tymoczko, cultural translation means the translation of culture into another language and the resulting representations of cultural difference, and she addresses such questions as how to translate or adapt cultural material in source texts for the benefit of target audiences, and how translation decisions affect representations of source cultures. Tymoczko (2007: 200) echoes Venuti (1995a: 10) when she stresses that translators in postcolonial situations can have powerful roles in the construction of cultural images and identities, as they decide what kind of a representation they will present to target readers of the source culture and its inhabitants. Tymoczko (2007: 190) further points out that translators can be important agents either in the promotion of cultural and political change, or in the preservation of a status quo in power relations.

Instead of treating every cultural element individually during the translation process, Tymoczko (2007: 248) advocates a holistic approach to the translation of culture, arguing that such an approach

is particularly advantageous for strategically conveying cultural difference, but it can also be used to strip a text of cultural markers that could interfere with the translation's reception. In creating empowered and empowering translations, holistic cultural translation permits greater self-awareness in translation choices and greater control in constructing the cultural representations and performances in the target text that support the translator's specific aims and goals.

This recommendation seems to pertain to the global level of translation strategies.

Tymoczko wants translation studies to develop approaches to cultural translation that would have a wide applicability across different cultural contexts. For example, foreignisation is not a suitable universal solution, because marginal societies are already absorbing large amounts of cultural and linguistic material from more powerful cultures even without translation, and consequently local forms of culture and language in more marginal countries may become endangered (2007: 211). This is also the reasoning

behind Soovik's (2006) positive attitude towards domesticating translation into Estonian of some postcolonial works (Arundhati Roy's *The God of Small Things*, Ben Okri's *The Famished Road*, and Salman Rushdie's *The Moor's Last Sigh*). According to Soovik (2006: 171), the linguistically distinctive source-text language is rendered by a more standardised Estonian literary language "at the service of the consolidation of a small nation". She admits that Estonia cannot keep postcolonial theory outside of its borders; however, the applications of postcolonial theory need to be "carefully weighed and modified to avoid the paradoxical situation in which a paradigm embraced with hopes of foregrounding the specific and the local might turn into an agent of global cultural imperialism" (2006: 172). By this she means the hegemonic position of the English language worldwide and its possibly detrimental effect on her native Estonian language culture.

Cultural translation in Tymoczko's sense deals with specific translation problems caused by cultural elements in source texts. A group of such elements are realia, defined by Florin (1993: 123) as "words denoting objects and concepts characteristic of the way of life, the culture, the social and historical development of one nation and alien to another. Since they express local and/or historical color they have no exact equivalents in other languages." Other terms for these cultural items are culturally specific or culture-bound elements (Nedergaard-Larsen 1993: 209) and extralinguistic cultural references (Pedersen 2011), among others. Realia may depict aspects of everyday life, such as food, garments, work, religion, and art, or they may refer to ecological conditions, such as flora and fauna of a certain region. As realia are known only within a certain society or geographical area, translators need to solve the problems posed by semantic gaps.

Florin (1993: 125) suggests that there are only two ways to render realia into the target text: *transcription* and *substitution*. *Transcription* is performed through the mechanical transfer of phonemes from the source to the target language, and it corresponds to the translation strategy called *direct transfer (borrowing)*. When transcription is not considered appropriate for the translation of realia, there are different kinds of substitution strategies. One is *calque* (literal translation of each component in a compound noun or phrase), which results in neologisms in the target language. Calques can also be combined with target-language words. In some cases, replacement by elements more familiar to the target culture, such as *functional equivalents* or *superordinates*, may be a solution to the translation problem of specific cultural words.

The last resort in the translation of realia, according to Florin, is an explanation of the meaning of the cultural element, like in dictionaries (c.f. Appiah's *thick translation*; 2000: 417-429). Substitution strategies reduce local colour in the target text up to the point that it is sometimes completely lost.

Leppihalme (2001, 2011) proposes a list of seven translation strategies for realia: direct transfer, calque, cultural adaptation, superordinate term, explication, addition of a paratextual explanation, and omission. She points out that intralinguistic cultural elements, for example metaphors, idioms, and dialectal or other language varieties are not considered realia, nor are cultural items which have become widely known outside their original region or society (these have become *transcultural* extralinguistic cultural references, Pedersen 2011: 106).

Pedersen (2011) has investigated the treatment of cultural elements in Scandinavian audiovisual translation. He prefers the term *extralinguistic cultural references* to realia, as realia refer to "real things", and there are fictional cultural references as well in his material, for example, in films, which would be difficult to accommodate under the term realia. For him, extralinguistic cultural references "are references to people, places, customs, institutions, food etc. that are specific to a certain culture, and which you may not know even if you know the language in question" (2011: 2-3). Pedersen has discovered six main translation strategies employed by subtitlers to render cultural references from English into Scandinavian languages: *retention* (a cultural element is retained unchanged or slightly adapted); *specification* (more information is added); *direct translation* (only the language is changed, no semantic alteration takes place); *generalisation* (either a superordinate term or a paraphrase is used); *substitution* (a source cultural element is replaced by something else); and *omission* (a source cultural element is not reproduced at all in the target text) (2011: 75-76). In addition, he introduces the term *official translation equivalent* to cover cases where there is an established target solution for a certain source-language cultural reference (and which, because of this, could be excluded from extralinguistic cultural references as Pedersen defines them).

Even though the labels for different translation strategies suitable for realia suggested by Florin, Leppihalme and Pedersen differ slightly, the processes they describe are basically similar. Especially the strategies proposed by Leppihalme and Pedersen conform to the six categories that I find suitable for the present study: *direct transfer*; *addition of an explanation*; *literal translation* and *calque*; *superordinate term* or

*paraphrase*; *substitution*; and *omission*. These six local translation strategies can roughly be grouped into two main (global) strategies: *retention* and *replacement*. In the context of this study, these terms could be seen to refer to the choice between retention and replacement of hybridity, in other words, whether to retain or replace by something else the marked (strange/unusual) source-text elements. On the local level, retention would cover the translation strategies direct transfer (transcription in Florin's classification) and addition of an explanation, as in these cases the marked source-text elements are retained in the target version, with or without explanations. Replacement covers situations where source-text hybrid items are replaced, for example, by superordinate terms or cultural or functional equivalents, or where cultural elements are explained through paraphrasing. Calque and literal translation (or direct translation, a term used by Pedersen [2011: 76] to cover both of these translation strategies) can be seen to be situated in the middle ground between retention and replacement, like in a diagram presented by Pedersen (2011: 75). His diagram shows his six translation strategies from left to right representing the transition from the most source-oriented (retention) to the most target-oriented strategy (substitution). Omission has a special position in the diagram; it is considered neither a source- nor a target-oriented strategy, but it still results in a target-oriented rendering. Pedersen prefers the terms source- and target-oriented strategies to adequacy and acceptability (Toury 1995), or foreignisation and domestication (Venuti 1995b), because he considers source- and target-oriented strategies to describe more accurately the processes taking place in (audiovisual) translation.

Pedersen's preference for the terms source- and target-oriented translation strategies instead of foreignisation and domestication can be justified by another argument as well. As Batchelor (2009: 235) points out, for Venuti, the justification for the use of foreignising translation strategies is "a desire to disrupt the dominant discourse and the illusion of transparency that is perpetuated through fluency". Consequently, foreignisation for Venuti is a strategy to introduce foreignness into the target culture independently of the linguistic properties present in the source text. This becomes evident from Venuti's (1998: 17) description of how he translated an Italian text into English: "to indicate the elements of near-parody in Tarchetti's romanticism, I increased the heterogeneity of the translation discourse [. . .] I made the combination of lexicons more jarring to remind the reader that he or she is reading a translation". More recently, Venuti (2013: 2) has further stated that he prefers "a translation method that does not

necessarily adhere closely to the source text, as both Schleiermacher and Berman had advocated, but rather cultivates an experimentalism as practiced by the nineteenth-century Italian writer I. U. Tarchetti and the modernist poet Ezra Pound”.

In spite of such problems, I will use the terms foreignisation and domestication in this study, but in the way indicated by Schleiermacher (2004: 49 [originally 1813]) as cited above: in foreignisation the translator leaves the author in peace and moves the reader towards him or her, and in domestication the translator leaves the reader in peace and moves the author towards him or her. These two global translation strategies can also be seen as the ends of a scale presented by Hervey & Higgins (1992: 28), which consists of five points from left to right: *exoticism*, *cultural borrowing*, *calque*, *communicative translation*, and *cultural transplantation*. Cultural borrowing equals direct transfer of foreign words, calque is in the middle ground between extreme source- and target-oriented strategies, and communicative translation can be seen as replacement of source-text hybrid cultural elements by unmarked elements. Hervey & Higgins (1992: 33) define calque as being “an expression that consists of TL [target language] words and respects TL syntax, but is unidiomatic in the TL because it is modelled on the structure of a SL [source language] expression. In essence, then, calque is a form of literal translation”.

As was noted in section 4.1, in real life it is not possible to attain extreme foreignisation or domestication of a target text, because there are norms both in the source and the target culture which exert some influence on the translator during the production of the target text. As Venuti (1998: 5) argues, “[a] translation always communicates an interpretation, a foreign text that is partial and altered, supplemented with features peculiar to the translating language, no longer inscrutably foreign but made comprehensible in a distinctively domestic style. Translations, in other words, inevitably perform a work of domestication”. Consequently, it is better to talk about different degrees of foreignisation and domestication. Retention of hybridity as a global translation strategy leads to increased foreignisation of a target text, while replacement of marked source-text elements by unmarked target elements results in increased domestication of a target text. Whether a target text should be called foreignised or domesticated depends on the cumulative effect of the choices made by the translator.

As this study is not confined to the study of realia, but other types of marked linguistic and cultural elements (e.g. proverbs, metaphors and language varieties) are investigated as well, it needs to be considered whether the translation strategies presented above will

be suitable also for these elements. It is noted in the literature available on the translation of europhone African literature into another European language (for example Tymoczko 1999b, Bandia 2008 and Batchelor 2009) that the most important translation strategies resemble the authorial techniques West African writers use to africanise the language of their texts: *direct transfer* and *literal translation*. Categorising the global translation strategies as retention and replacement of hybridity, and the local translation strategies as direct transfer; addition of an explanation; literal translation and calque; superordinate term (or co-hyponym); communicative translation; substitution; and omission seems suitable not only for realia, but for most other marked source-text elements as well. Two additions, however, seem to be necessary. First, communicative translation could further be divided into two subgroups (Hervey & Higgins 1992: 32-33): *communicative equivalent* and *communicative paraphrase*. When a source-culture proverb, for example, is translated by a situationally appropriate target-culture proverb, we can call the translation strategy the use of a communicative equivalent. When a proverb or another type of set phrase is paraphrased, the translation strategy can be called the use of communicative paraphrase. In both cases, communicative translation results in an unmarked rendering and a loss of stylistic flavour, while the semantic content is retained. Second, translation strategies used for pidgin do not fit into the categorisation presented above; thus retention of nonstandard language is proposed for this language variety.

Translation strategies which seem to be relevant for the present study are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Translation strategies used for the translation of africanised English into Finnish

---

Direct transfer
Addition of explanation
Literal translation, calque (including approximate dictionary equivalent)
Superordinate term (or co-hyponym)
Communicative translation (communicative equivalent and communicative paraphrase)
Substitution
Retention of nonstandard language (for pidgin)
Omission

---



To illustrate the range of translators' options, I will present some examples of the use of different translation strategies in my material showing how translators deal with the authorial techniques of borrowings, translation equivalents, neologisms, as well as the use of pidgin.

A common authorial technique is the insertion of **borrowings** from African languages, with or without a cushioning (i.e. an authorial explanation, see subsection 3.3.1). Borrowings can also be in the form of loan-blends (containing an English head word). At least seven different types of translation approaches to borrowings can be discovered in my material:

(1) Authorial technique: borrowing  
Translation strategy: direct transfer

*egusi* (MOP 52) > *egusi* (KM 77)

(2) Authorial technique: borrowing (loan-blend)  
Translation strategy: direct transfer + translation of head word

*akwaaba* dolls (FRA 95) > *akwaaba-nukkeja* (PIR 88)

(3) Authorial technique: borrowing + cushioning  
Translation strategy: direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning

an *ona*, a 'priceless jewel' (JOM 11) > *ona*, 'mittaamattoman kallis jalokivi' (NET 7)

(4) Authorial technique: borrowing (loan-blend)  
Translation strategy: direct transfer + translation of head word + added explanation

*jollof* rice (HALF 23) > tomaateilla, sipulilla ja paprikalla höystettyä *jollof*-riisiä (PKA 39)

(5) Authorial technique: borrowing (loan-blend)  
Translation strategy: literal translation (approximate dictionary equivalent)

*anara* plants (HALF 241) > *munakoisoja* (PKA 338)

(6) Authorial technique: borrowing (loan-blend)  
Translation strategy: superordinate term

under the ukwa tree (PHIB 84) > puun alle (PURP 95)

(7) Authorial technique: borrowing

Translation strategy: omission

They have blockaded us *kpam-kpam* (HALF 293) > Nigerianlaiset ovat panneet meidät mottiin (PKA 412)

In example (5), the translator has replaced the borrowing *anara* by its approximate Finnish dictionary equivalent *munakoiso*. I use the term approximate dictionary equivalent because, as Snell-Hornby (1995: 22) claims, equivalence is “an illusion of symmetry between languages which hardly exists beyond the level of vague approximations” (see section 4.1). The borrowings *ukwa* (example 6) and *kpam-kpam* (example 7) have been omitted in the target texts, probably to enhance the clarity and readability of the texts. The strategies of the use of approximate dictionary equivalent and omission make the target texts more fluent and consequently more transparent, as strange words do not disturb the reading process, but at the same time the local colour of the target texts is reduced, and the potential political and ideological aims of the authors may also be affected.

**Translation equivalents** involve situations where the writer has translated African-language sayings, proverbs, metaphors etc. into English:

(8) Authorial technique: translation equivalent

Translation strategy: literal translation

But her body has not been hers since the beginning of the rainy season.’

‘God will hear our prayers,’ I said.

‘He holds the knife and He holds the yam.’ (MOP 102)

Mutta sadeajan alusta asti hänen ruumiinsa ei ole ollut hänen.”

”Jumala kuulee meidän rukouksemme”, minä sanoin.

”Hänellä on veitsi ja Hänellä on jamssi.” (KM 137)

Translation equivalents *her body has not been hers* and *He holds the knife and He holds the yam* have been translated literally into Finnish. These source-text translation equivalents may have an unmarked appearance from the linguistic point of view, but they are included in this study, because they may portray a strange cultural background and way of seeing things (“metatext of culture”, see subsection 3.3.4), and translators therefore need to decide how to deal with this strange cultural material. They can retain

them or replace them by some more familiar expressions (communicative equivalent or communicative paraphrase), or they can omit them altogether, for example to make the target text conform to the target readers' literary and cultural expectations (cf. expectancy norms in Chesterman 1997: 64 and section 4.1 above).

Consequently, literal translation is a translation strategy which can yield both foreignised and domesticated translation solutions, as the resulting target texts can either contain at least some of the source-text hybridity, or hybridity is deleted. For example, when West African writers use in their literary texts proverbs or figurative language that derive from African oral tradition, and such culturally marked material is translated literally, the target versions usually retain at least some of the cultural hybridity of the source text. A different situation arises when writers use African words (borrowings) in their texts and those words are translated literally, i.e. rendered by their approximate dictionary equivalents (example 5), as in such instances there is likely to be nothing left of the original hybridity which resulted from the co-existence of two languages in the source texts.

**Neologisms** in this study are English terms which have their origin in multilingual and multicultural societies and which refer to some local West African phenomena.

(9) Authorial technique: neologism

Translation strategy: superordinate term

high life music (PHIB 83) > nigerialainen pop (PURP 94)

The neologism *high life* is rendered by the superordinate term *nigerialainen pop* 'Nigerian pop music', but there exists even a higher-order term for *high life*, 'West African popular music' ( *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* [1993] defines the term *high life* as "a type of music and dance popular in W Africa").

A common source of translation problems in anglophone West African literature is nonstandard language resulting from the use of **pidgin** (pidgin and its Finnish translation are in added bold).

(10) Authorial technique: the use of pidgin

Translation strategy: retention of nonstandard language

in language ever more suited to the times: '**you chop, me self I chop, palaver finish**'; (MOP 167)

vielä paremmin siihen ajanjaksoon soveltuvalla kielellä sanottuna: **sinä syödä, minä syödä, palaver päättynyt** (KM 215)

(11) Authorial technique: the use of pidgin  
Translation strategy: communicative paraphrase

‘Good gracious!’ Max shouted, shaking my hand violently. ‘Diligent! **Na your eye be this?**’ (MOP 82)

“Herra varjeloon!” Max huusi ravistaen rajusti kättäni. “Diligent! **Oletko se sinä!**” (KM 114)

The markedness of the pidgin expression has been retained in example (10), while in example (11), the pidgin wording of the traditional greeting *Is this your eyes?* has been replaced by an unmarked Finnish exclamation *Oletko se sinä!* ‘Is it you!’ It is difficult to name the translation strategy in example (11) following the classification presented above; consequently, I will call it communicative paraphrase, as the target rendering retains the semantic content of the original even when it is linguistically unmarked. Pidgin is a kind of lingua franca widely spoken in West Africa, while the target variety in example (10) resembles a language which only a learner of Finnish would use, if anyone. I will return to this variety and its occurrence in translated literature in Finland in subsection 5.1.4.

Nida (1976: 55) makes the following observation about the translation of nonstandard language varieties that:

More frequently the dialect forms used by writers are either horizontal (geographical) or vertical (socioeconomic) dialects, and rarely do authors or translators consistently represent all the details of such dialects, but at least certain easily recognized features are selected that serve to signal the type of dialect being used. [. . .] The problem for the translator is to find in a foreign language a dialect with approximately the same status and connotations. Rarely is the dialect match fully successful, for the values associated with a particular dialect are often highly specific.

Nida does not even speculate on the possibility that a translator might replace a nonstandard variety by a standard variety of the target language, as is the case in example (11). Another similar situation is seen in example (12b):

(12a) "**No, no, sah! No police, sah! Na work me de find. I be washerman, sah! Look!**" Naaife showed the reference Dr Meers had given him to the man, who obviously felt sorry for him.

"I knew you were after something, the way you were following us," he remarked in undertones - not that Nnaife would have been able to decipher his upper-class English public-school accent (JOM 93)

(12b) "**Ei, herra, ei! Ei poliisia! Minä etsin työtä. Olen pesijä. Katsokaa!** [sic] Hän näytti tohtori Meersin suosituskirjettä miehelle, jonka selvästi kävi häntä sääliksi.

"Minä arvasin että jotakin te haluatte, kun pysyttelitte niin hanakasti meidän kannoillamme", mies huomautti puoliääneen - Nnaife ei tosin saanut selvää hänen englantilaisesta hienostokoulun korostuksestaan (NET 96)

In West African literature, pidgin is used in the speech of some characters, for example to show that they are rural or uneducated people. In example (12b), the translator has rendered Nnaife's pidgin utterances into unmarked Finnish, using the same register as in the other man's speech, thus affecting the characterisation of Nnaife as an uneducated person who cannot speak standard English. In the target version, there is nothing to distinguish the language varieties of the two characters except the authorial intrusion that the other man speaks with *englantilaisen hienostokoulun korostus* 'upper-class English public-school accent'.

The possibility of the deletion of nonstandard language is proposed by Englund Dimitrova (2004), who presents a theoretical model for the study of the translation of dialects in literature. In her model, standardised varieties and registers of a language are thought to be in a central position compared to the non-codified (nonstandard) written varieties, such as dialects and sociolects, which in turn are situated more centrally than such varieties that contain a high degree of orality or individual features. Colloquial features are usually considered part of the standard variety. Englund Dimitrova has concluded from her investigations of the translation of nonstandard language (from Swedish into for example English) that there is a tendency for the target language variety to be situated closer to the centre of the model than the source variety. In other words, she has observed that a dialect is often translated with a standard variety, with or without colloquial markers, and if a nonstandard target variety is used, it is usually not a recognisable local target dialect.

In the following chapter, the translation of africanised English into Finnish in twelve anglophone West African novels is studied using the categorisation of africanising authorial techniques presented in chapter 3 and the classification of translation strategies presented above.

## 5. The translation of africanised English into Finnish

The aim of this study is to find out how africanised English in West African novels has been translated into Finnish, and what happens to the linguistic and cultural hybridity present in the source texts. The material consists of twelve novels by nine different authors and the Finnish versions of these novels similarly translated by nine translators. The twelve novels were published in Finland between 1963 and 2010, and possible changes in translation norms during this period will also be investigated. The study is descriptive, and the method chosen is one developed for descriptive translation studies (Toury 1995), which describes and tries to explain the translatorial solutions, with the aim to uncover norms that have governed the translation process.

Research within the framework of descriptive translation studies has as its starting point the target text (see section 4.1). To recapitulate, in Toury's method the target text is compared to the source text with the help of coupled pairs of translation solution and translation problem to investigate what kinds of translation relationships exist between the two texts. The aim is to find general patterns in the relationships and in the use of translation strategies which would enable the researcher to discover the norm of translation equivalence and the concept of translation that have governed the translator's work. Even though Toury's method has been called target-oriented, the source texts also need to be studied closely in this study, because some instances of africanised English may only be found in them, while the target texts may have no hybrid (marked) language left in them.

Igboanusi's (2001) classification of the authorial techniques that Igbo writers use to africanise the English they write in (see subsection 3.3.4) gives good clues to what kinds of distinctive linguistic and cultural elements can be encountered in anglophone West African texts. To recapitulate, Igboanusi lists seven techniques: *borrowing*, *loan-blends*, *coinages*, *translation equivalents*, *semantic extension*, *collocational extension*, and *colloquialisms*. As was stated earlier, the differences between the techniques are not always clear to a non-Igbo speaker, and some categories seem to overlap. In spite of such problems, this study uses a modified version of Igboanusi's classification of authorial techniques, consisting of *borrowings* (including *loan-blends*) and *translation equivalents* (including *coinages*, *semantic* and *collocational extension* and *colloquialisms*) as an aid in identifying instances of africanised English in the source

(and target) texts. In addition, instances of *neologisms* and *pidgin* are looked for.

We have seen in section 4.3 what kinds of translation strategies are available for rendering hybrid English in anglophone West African novels into Finnish (Table 1). I will now turn to analysing how the translation problems posed by africanised English in the twelve novels from West Africa which form the material of this study have been solved by the Finnish translators. The texts are analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively, after which the implications of the results will be discussed.

## **5.1 Qualitative analysis of the translation strategies used for africanised elements by Finnish translators**

In the qualitative analysis, the texts are studied in their entirety. The subsections below correspond to the four authorial techniques of borrowings, translation equivalents, neologisms and the use of pidgin, and the choices made by the translators between the two main (global) translation options: *retention* and *replacement* of the hybrid (marked) material in the source texts. Retention maintains the hybridity (markedness) of the source text in the target text, while replacement of hybrid linguistic and cultural source-text material by unmarked elements results in an unmarked target version. Retention thus corresponds to a foreignising global translation strategy, while replacement results in more or less domesticated target texts.

### **5.1.1 Borrowings**

#### **A) Retention of markedness**

The borrowing of words from African languages is a typical literary device in anglophone West African writing of fiction. There can be borrowings in the fields of for example food, clothing, flora, fauna, religion, ceremonies and greetings. Many of the borrowings in the examples below are realia (see section 4.3), i.e. words known only in a certain society or nation or a subsection of it, which means that these words often do not have precise equivalents in the target culture (semantic gap). One option for the translator, then, is to retain the source-text item unchanged, in other words, to use the strategy of direct transfer. In the following examples, borrowings are in added bold, while italics are original:

(13a) [I] looked beyond the door to the gleaming bathroom and the towels as large as a *lappa* (MOP 41)

(13b) katsoin avoimesta ovesta välkkyvään kylpyhuoneeseen ja näin pyyhkeet, suuret kuin *lappa* (KM 63)

(14a) The popular 'Ego Women's Party' wore a new uniform of expensive **accra cloth**. (MOP 1)

(14b) Suositulla 'Egonaisten yhtyeellä' oli uusi esiintymispuku kallista **accraa**. (KM 15)

(15a) The fat woman shifted her bulk in a little grotesque dance, her **kente blouse** flapping its elephant-ear sleeves in a whirl of color (FRA 81)

(15b) Lihava nainen tempaisi ruhonsa irvokkaaseen pikku tanssiin; hänen **kente-puseronsa** norsunkorvahihat hulmahtivat väripyörteeksi (PIR 75)

(16a) a bony man in khaki shorts and shirt with **Frafra marks** on his face (FRA 108)

(16b) Hänellä oli khakihousut ja -paita ja kasvoissaan **frafra-merkit**. (PIR 99)

(17a) The **dongari** pushed his prisoner to the floor (SOA 119)

(17b) **Dongari** sysäsi vankinsa lattialle (LK 130)

(18a) Perhaps the woman was a spirit person and had come here to perform rituals with her fellow **ogbanje**. (HALF 239)

(18b) Ehkä Amala oli ihmishahmoinen henki, joka oli tullut kasvimaalle osallistuakseen johonkin rituaaliin muiden **ogbanjein** kanssa. (PKA 336)

In all of these examples, the translators have retained the marked African-language words without any added explanations of the meanings of the borrowings (in loan-blends, head words are translated). The translators have added only the obligatory suffix indicating Finnish partitive case for the *accra* cloth and changed the capital letter in *Frafra* into a small one. Consequently, the readers of the translations need to infer the meanings of the words just as the readers of the source texts who are unfamiliar with West Africa need to do.

There are also longer borrowings than single words in the source texts:



(19a) he bobbed his head and saluted: ‘**Ranka dede, ranka dede.**’ (SOA 120)

(19b) hän heilutti päätänsä ja tervehti: — **Ranka dede, ranka dede.** (LK 131)

(20a) ‘*O ti sah.* Madam *ni npe yin.*’

‘Enh?’

‘Madam. *Won ni npe yin wa.*’

Egbo looked round wildly, hardly daring to believe. Simi was no longer there. Angrily he gripped the boy by the ear, pinching him on the lobe. ‘Are you trying to joke with me?’

The boy twisted in pain, protesting.

‘Go on. Which madam? Where? Where?’

‘*Nta. Won wa nnu taxi.*’

Egbo sobered with an effort, determined to destroy the hallucination. But the boy remained, and he meant it, that was obvious.

‘Change *yin sah.*’ But Egbo was past recalling . . . (INT 58)

(20b) — *O ti sah.* Rouva *ni npe yin.*

— Hä?

— Rouva. *Won ni npe yin wa.*

Egbo pälyili ympärilleen, tuskin uskalsi uskoa. Simiä ei enää näkynyt. Vihaisesti hän tarrasi poikaa korvasta ja nipisti tämän korvalehteä. — Yritätkö pelleillä minun kanssani?

Poika kiemurteli kivusta, vastusteli.

— Jatka. Kuka rouva? Missä? Missä?

— *Nta. Won wa nnu taxi.*

Egbo yritti ponnistautua selväksi ja karkottaa harhat. Mutta poika seisoi hänen edessään ja selvästikin tarkoitti mitä sanoi.

— Loppurahat *vin sah* [sic]. Mutta Egbo ei enää muistanut . . . (TUL 70)

In these examples as well, the translators have transferred the borrowings directly into the target texts without any added explanations. When no explanation is given of the African words, the reader surely "registers a sense of cultural distinctiveness" and is forced "into an active engagement with the horizons of the culture in which these terms have meaning" (Ashcroft et al. 1991: 65). At the same time, however, the West African text may become opaque to the Western reader, even to a point that it "may confirm the non-African reader's 'colonial' suspicions that the African tongue is barbaric" (Zabus 1991: 164).

The writers may explain the meanings of some borrowings inside the texts, for example by using a technique called cushioning (see subsection 3.3.1):

(21a) Then she would be able to seek out and meet her *chi*, her personal god, and she would ask her why she had punished her so. She knew her *chi* was a woman (JOM 9)

(21b) Silloin hän saisi etsiä ja kohdata oman *chinsä*, oman jumalansa, ja kysyä miksi tämä oli rankaissut häntä niin ankarasti. Hän tiesi että hänen *chinsä* oli nainen (NET 3)

(22a) *Nyenyefo mpo wo ne nkaeda* — having to love a burdensome child because one day you will miss her (CHA 79)

(22b) *Nyenyefo mpo wo ne nkaeda* — hankalaa lasta oli rakastettava koska jonain päivänä häntä tulisi ikävä (MU 106).

(23a) Our yard was wide enough to hold a hundred people dancing *atilogu*, spacious enough for each dancer to do the usual somersaults and land on the next dancer's shoulders. (PHIB 9)

(23b) Meidän pihamme oli suuri, sata ihmistä mahtui vaivatta tanssimaan siellä *atilogua*, tanssia jossa jokainen vuorollaan heittää kärrynpyöriä kunnes päättyy edellisen harteille. (PURP 15)

The translators have transferred the borrowings directly and translated fairly faithfully the cushioned glosses of the African-language words.

A large authorial explanation is offered for an odd African expression:

(24a) "*Nwunye m*," Auntie Ifeoma called, and Mama turned back.

The first time I heard Auntie Ifeoma call Mama "*nwunye m*," years ago, I was aghast that a woman called another woman "**my wife**." When I asked, Papa said it was the remnants of ungodly traditions, the idea that it was the family and not the man alone that married a wife, and later Mama whispered, although we were alone in my room, "I am her wife, too, because I am your father's wife. It shows she accepts me." (PHIB 73)

(24b) "*Nwunye m*," Ifeoma-täti sanoi ja äiti kääntyi takaisin.

Kun vuosia sitten kuulin Ifeoma-tädin ensimmäisen kerran kutsuvan äitiä nimellä *nwunye m*, kauhistuin sitä että nainen kutsui toista naista "**minun vaimokseni**". Mutta kun kysyin asiaa isältä, hän selitti, että se oli jäänne vanhoista jumalattomista traditioista, joiden mukaan vaimoa ei ottanut vain mies vaan koko suku. Myöhemmin äiti selitti kuiskaten — vaikka olimme kaksin huoneessani — olevansa tätini vaimo, koska oli isäni vaimo. Nimen käyttäminen osoitti, että täti oli hyväksynyt hänet. (PURP 83)

The translator has changed the mother's direct speech in the source text into indirect speech in the target version, otherwise the authorial explanation is rendered faithfully.

Translators as well can add explanations of the meanings of borrowings imperceptibly inside target texts. Consider the following examples:

(25a) I will leave tomorrow because I must attend an ***umuada* meeting**. I will return at the end of the week to fetch her. (HALF 239)

(25b) Minä lähden huomenna, koska minun on pakko osallistua ***umuada-kokoukseen muiden suvun naisten kanssa***. Palaan loppuviikolla hakemaan Amalan. (PKA 336)

(26a) Little boys — the followers of the *mmuo* who were playing music with metal ***ogenes*** and wooden ***ichakas*** — picked up the crumpled *naira* notes. (PHIB 86)

(26b) Pikkupojat, jotka seurasivat metallisia ***ogene-kelloja*** ja puisia ***ichaka-helistimiä*** soittavia *mmuoita*, noukkivat ryppyiset *nairan* setelit maasta. (PURP 97)

In example (25a), the information that an *umuada meeting* is an event for women who are related is left implicit, while the translator makes this explicit (example 25b). Similarly, the music instruments *ogene* and *ichaka* in example (26) are specified by the translator to be a bell and a shaker, respectively, and these words and *mmuo* are italicised in the target text. The translatorial italicisation of unfamiliar words (which are not highlighted in this way in the source text) marks the words as strange in a way not intended by the author, who may have wanted to present the two languages as equals.

In some of the novels, writers explain the meanings of borrowings in paratexts such as footnotes or glossaries. For example, in *The Interpreters* the meanings of most Yoruba words are explained in the glossary at the end of the novel. The target text *Tulkit* (1980) also contains a glossary which gives the Finnish translations of the source-text explanations:

(27a) ‘Is he mad?’  
‘***Omo tani?***’ (INT 27)

(27b) — Onko hän hullu?  
— ***Omo tani?*** (TUL 32)

In the glossaries of the source and target texts, *omo tani* is glossed as ‘whose son does he think he is?’ (INT 260) and ‘Kenen poika hän luulee olevansa?’ (TUL 315).

A borrowed word, *juju*, has a different meaning in Finnish than in the West African

languages, and it may therefore prove problematic for translators. Finnish *juju* means a special detail or a trick, while in West Africa, *juju* can mean anything related to religion and traditional magic:

(28a) her husband (apparently a very jealous man) had put some **juju** on her breasts to scare her into faithfulness (MOP 66)

(28b) hänen miehensä (arvattavasti hyvin mustasukkainen mies) oli pannut jonkin **jujun** hänen rintoihinsa pakottaakseen hänet olemaan uskollinen (KM 94)

In this example, the word *juju* is transferred directly into the target text.

#### B) Replacement of marked elements by unmarked ones

Translators may want to help the task of the readers of the target texts by translating the borrowings by target-language equivalents. This strategy increases comprehensibility and clarity of the target version but reduces its amount of local colour:

(29a) For they saw a young woman of twenty-five, with long hair not too tidily plaited and with no head-tie to cover it, wearing a loose house **buba** and a faded **lappa** to match tied tightly around her thin waist (JOM 8)

(29b) He nimittäin näkivät nuoren, noin kaksikymmentäviisivuotiaan naisen, jonka pitkä, palmikoitu tukka hapsotti, eikä hän ollut peittänyt sitä huivilla; yllään naisella oli väljä kotipusero ja samanvärisen haalistunut **lappa**, joka oli kiedottu tiukasti hänen hoikille vyötäisilleen (NET 2)

(30a) Abdulmalik pointed at the ripe gourdlike pods on the **kuka tree** and said, 'You come my house. My wife cook very sweet **kuka soup**.' (HALF 40)

(30b) Abdulmalik osoitti **mahonkipuun** kypsiä kurpitsamaisia hedelmiä ja sanoi: "Tule minun taloon. Minun vaimo laittaa **noista** hyvin makeaa **keittoa**." (PKA 62)

(31a) Lunch was jollof rice, fist-size chunks of **azu** fried until the bones were crisp, and **ngwo-ngwo**. Papa ate most of the **ngwo-ngwo**, his spoon swooping through the spicy broth in the glass bowl. (PHIB 32)

(31b) Sisi oli laittanut jollof-riisiä, **tulista vuohenlihakeittoa** ja nyrkinkokoisia **kalanpaloja**, joita oli paistettu kunnes ruodot olivat muuttuneet rapeiksi. Isä lusikoi lasikulhosta **mausteista vuohenlihakeittoa** ja söi sen lähes yksinään. (PURP 40)

In example (29b), the translator has replaced the word *buba* by an approximate dictionary equivalent *pusero* ‘blouse’, but she has transferred directly and italicised the other borrowing in the sentence, *lappa*, perhaps in an attempt to strike a balance between domestication and foreignisation. The Igbo words in examples (30a) and (31a), *kuka*, *azu* and *ngwo-ngwo*, have also been replaced by their approximate dictionary equivalents. In Finnish the word *kuka* means ‘who’, which may have affected the translator’s decision not to use direct transfer but opt for replacement by the approximate dictionary equivalent *mahonkipuu* ‘mahogany tree’. The Finnish rendering of *ngwo-ngwo*, *vuohenlihakeitto* ‘goat meat soup’, may be considered marked for Finnish readers as Finns rarely eat goat. *Azu* is rendered as *kala* ‘fish’. The translation strategy of replacement by a dictionary equivalent reduces the hybridity of the target text through the elimination of the African-language elements which are present in the source text, and consequently the target text becomes more comprehensible, fluent and transparent, in other words, more domesticated.

### 5.1.2 Translation equivalents

#### A) Retention of markedness

Translation equivalents are literal translations from African languages into English of African sayings, idioms, proverbs or images. As was stated earlier, Igboanusi’s coinages, semantic and collocational extension and colloquialisms are treated in this study as translation equivalents as well, because these authorial techniques are also literal translations from the writer’s African mother tongue.

As was explained earlier (see subsection 3.3.4), literal translation of Igbo figurative language and other expressions may result in standard English, but the cultural content (the metatext of culture [Tymoczko1999b: 20]) is often strange to Western readers, and consequently culturally marked elements are also included in this study. In the following examples, translation equivalents are in added bold:

(32a) The little one, Micah, called my mother “a dirty, bush woman”.’ [. . .] ‘Of course **I slapped okro seeds out of his mouth**,’ said Mrs. Nanga proudly. (MOP 44)

(32b) Pikkuinen Micah nimitti äitiäni ‘likaiseksi maalaieukoksi’. [. . .] ”Tietysti minä **läimäytin okransiemenet ulos hänen suustaan**”, sanoi rouva Nanga ylpeästi. (KM 66)

(33a) **A goat does not eat into a hen's stomach** no matter how friendly the two may be. (MOP 140)

(33b) **Ei se, mitä vuohi syö, mene kanan mahaan**, vaikka ne olisivat ystäviäkin. (KM 182)

In these examples, the translator resorts to literal translation and retains the form and semantic content of the Igbo expressions, which strategy results in more or less marked target-text renderings. There is also an Igbo saying which the translator has replaced by another marked expression:

(34a) ‘Are you not one of them when it comes **to eating aged guinea-fowls?**’ (MOP 139)

(34b) “Etkös sinä ole ihan kuin yksi niistä, kun on **repäistävä kakun kyljestä palanen?**” (KM 181)

The translator has rendered *to eat aged guinea-fowls* as *repäistä kakun kyljestä palanen* ‘to tear a piece off from the side of a cake’, maybe because the source-text saying would sound too odd to target-culture readers (the target rendering may refer to “the national cake” which is mentioned repeatedly in the source text *A Man of the People*). The translation strategy could be called substitution by a functional equivalent.

In the following examples, similes and metaphors which are probably translations from African languages into English are translated fairly literally into Finnish, thus retaining the images:

(35a) I felt a tingling glow of satisfaction spread all over me **as palm-oil does on hot yam**. (MOP 121)

(35b) tunsin kutittavan tyydytyksen hehkun leviävän koko ruumiiseeni, **kuten palmuöljy leviää kuumaan jamssiin**. (KM 160)

(36a) Simi remained **the thorn-bush** at night, and **the glow-worms flew fitfully around and burnt out at her feet**. (INT 56)

(36b) Simi pysyi **piikkipensaana** yössä, ja **kiiltomadot lentelivät oikukkaasti hänen ympärillään ja paloivat loppuun hänen jalkojensa juuressa**. (TUL 68)

(37a) Oh, but **you are a lizard**, sir Derin, and **your skin is harmattan scabby** though you turn on it eternal faucets of rancid oil. (INT 64)

(37b) Ei mutta **sinähän olet matelija**, sir Derin, ja **ihosi on harmattanin syyhyinen**, vaikka käännätkin auki härskin öljyn ikuiset hanat. (TUL 77)

The simile of palm-oil in example (35a) has been translated literally into Finnish, resulting in retention of cultural hybridity. A translation strategy of retention of markedness is employed also in example (36) where metaphors are used to describe the situation where Simi, a prostitute, is attracting men in a bar. The translator has similarly retained the cultural hybridity of the images *a lizard* and *harmattan scabby* in example (37), with the slight modification that *a lizard* is rendered by the superordinate term *matelija* ‘reptile’, probably because this word conveys better the connotation of the source-text word as an unpleasant person.

The following examples present West African sayings in English:

(38a) "That is you, Baako," Naana said. **"I give you the dawn."**  
"Morning," he said. (FRA 205)

(38b) — Sinäkö siinä, Baako? Naana sanoi. **Minä annan sinulle aamun.**  
— Huomenta, Baako sanoi. (PIR 188)

(39a) Eneberi, I shall see your mother. **Let day break.**  
‘**Let day break,**’ Efuru and Gilbert said together. (EFU-S 151)

(39b) Eneberi, minä käyn puhumassa sinun äitisi kanssa. **Koittakoon uusi aamu.**  
”**Koittakoon uusi aamu**”, Efuru ja Gilbert sanoivat yhteen ääneen. (EFU-T 149)

(40a) ‘He who brings the kola nut brings life. You and yours will live, and I and mine will live. **Let the eagle perch and let the dove perch and, if either decrees that the other not perch, it will not be well for him.** May God bless this kola in Jesus’ name.’ (HALF 164)

(40b) “Joka tuo kolapähkinän, tuo elämää. Elämää sinulle ja läheisillesi, elämää minulle ja läheisilleni. **Kotka saa istua omalla oksallaan ja kyyhky omallaan, ja jos jompikumpi määrää toisin, sille ei käy hyvin.** Siunatkoon Jumala tämän kolapähkinän Jeesuksen nimeen.” (PKA 234)

The African sayings are translated fairly literally into Finnish.

Another type of translation equivalence is seen in *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*, which is kind of an oral story presented in a written form. The oral medium in traditional storytelling demands a continuous flow of discourse, which results in the stringing together

of many clauses into a long sentence. Oral tradition is also reflected in the repetition of words, phrases and sentences, and when these strategies are used, an illusion of orality is produced in a written text:

(41a) When it was early in the morning of the next day, I had no palm-wine to drink at all, and throughout that day I felt not so happy as before; I was seriously sat down in my parlour, but when it was the third day that I had no palm-wine at all, all my friends did not come to my house again, they left me there alone, because there was no palm-wine for them to drink. (PWD 8)

(41b) Varhain aamulla seuraavana päivänä minulla ei ollut ollenkaan palmuviiniä mitä juoda, ja koko sinä päivänä en tuntenut itseäni niin onnelliseksi kuin ennen; istuskelin totisena vierashuoneessani, mutta kun oli kolmas päivä, että minulla ei ollut yhtään palmuviiniä, kaikki ystäväni eivät tulleet enää talooni, he jättivät minut sinne yksin, koska heillä ei ollut palmuviiniä mitä juoda. (PVJ 6-7)

The nonstandard, oral quality of the source text is retained to some extent in the Finnish version, which is close to a literal translation of the source text. For example, the source passage is one long sentence, and this structure is retained in the target rendering. The repetition is likewise retained, as the word *palmuviiniä* ‘palm-wine’ occurs three times in the target excerpt like in the source version.

In the following example, a Yoruba reported interrogative clause is calqued into English (Afoyalan 1975: 196):

(42a) **He (Death) asked me from where did I come?** I replied that I came from a certain town which was not so far from his place. **Then he asked what did I come to do?** I told him that I had been hearing about him in my town (PWD 13)

(42b) **Hän (Kuolema) kysyi minulta mistä minä tulin?** Vastasin että tulin tietystä kaupungista, joka ei ollut kovin kaukana hänen paikastaan. **Sitten hän kysyi mitä tulin tekemään?** Kerroin hänelle, että olin kuullut hänestä kaupungissani (PVJ 11-12)

The target-text excerpt is almost a word-for-word translation of the source text, but due to the flexibility of word order in Finnish, the syntactic structure does not depart from standard (unmarked) Finnish except with regard to the question marks, which are retained in the target text. Tutuola often specifies in parentheses the identity of *he*, probably because there is no gender differentiation in Yoruba third person singular subject and direct object pronouns, and consequently there is only one pronoun in



Yoruba for the English pronouns *he* and *she*. (There is a similar lack of gender in the Finnish language.)

#### B) Replacement of marked elements by unmarked ones

Translation equivalents can be expressed in unmarked English while the cultural content of the figurative language reflects the African thought and experience. Translators can either retain the unfamiliar content of the sayings and images, as was seen in part A above, or they can replace it by more familiar linguistic material:

(43a) 'Welcome,' Efuru said to him. '**So this is your eyes?** Let the eyes I have used in seeing you not desert me. Where have you been all these years?' Efuru exaggerated. (EFU-S 138)

(43b) "Tervetuloa", Efuru sanoi. "**Sinäkö siinä?** Toivottavasti minä saan aina pitää nämä silmät joilla olen katsellut sinua. Miksi sinä olet ollut poissa niin kauan?" Efuru liioitteli. (EFU-T 136)

(44a) She said nothing else until they got to the front of her house and she turned away. '**Let day break,**' she said.

'See you tomorrow,' Ugwu said. (HALF 291)

(44b) Eberechi ei puhunut enää ennen kuin kääntyi kotitalonsa pihalle. "**Huomiseen**", hän sanoi.

"Nähdään huomenna", Ugwu vastasi. (PKA 410)

The greeting *So this is your eyes?* is rendered by an unmarked question *Sinäkö siinä?* 'Is it you there?'. The marked source expression *Let day break* is replaced by an unmarked Finnish expression *huomiseen* 'till tomorrow'.

The translation equivalent *to know book* has slightly different target renderings by different translators:

(45a) She doesn't **know** half as much **book** as you. (MOP 99)

(45b) Hän ei ole puoleksikaan niin **kirjaviisas** kuin te. (KM 133)

(46a) Arize's round eyes were admiring and bewildered. 'It is only women that **know too much Book** like you who can say that, Sister. If people like me **who don't know Book** wait too long, we will expire.' (HALF 41)

(46b) Arizen silmät pyöristyivät ihailusta ja ihmetyksestä. ”Noin pystyvät sanomaan vain sinun kaltaisesi naiset, **joilla on paljon sivistystä**. Jos minunlaiseni **tietämättömät** naiset odottavat liian pitkään, meitä ei huoli enää kukaan.” (PKA 64)

In example (45b), the translator has replaced the marked collocation *to know book* by an unmarked Finnish term *kirjaviisas*. In example (46b), the translator replaces the marked collocation by unmarked expressions, *joilla on paljon sivistystä* ‘who are educated’ and *tietämättömät* ‘ignorant ones’. As was noted in subsection 3.3.4, *to know book* can be glossed ‘to be educated’ or ‘to be intelligent’.

### 5.1.3 Neologisms

#### A) Retention of markedness

Neologisms are words in English that are probably not translated from any African language. Instead, these words have developed in the multilingual environment to represent new African phenomena in the colonial and postcolonial society. The use of such words is also a common method of africanisation in anglophone West African fiction. A popular West African music style, *highlife*, has sometimes been transferred directly into the target text (neologisms are in added bold; italics are original):

(47a) Jean went and put on a record, a long-play **highlife** and we began to dance. (MOP 57)

(47b) Jean meni ja pani LP-levyn pyörimään, ja me aloimme tanssia **highlifea**. (KM 84)

(48a) He listened to **High Life** often. (HALF 238)

(48b) Hän kuunteli usein *high life* –**musiikkia**. (PKA 334)

In example (47b), the translator has made the slight modification that *highlife* as a music style is changed into a dance style. In example (48b), *High Life* is transferred directly, with the modification that the capital letters are not used, and the neologism is explained to be *musiikkia* ‘music’. The translator has also added italics to the term.

One type of neologism is a reduplication of a word, which is a common means of word formation in West African English. It is used either to intensify or to extend the

meaning of the word (Mafeni 1971: 104). This type of word formation has its origin in local African languages and pidgin. Consider the following examples:

(49a) You think say these people **go go** another heaven after this?’ (MOP 65)

(49b) Sinä luulla nämä ihmiset **mennä-mennä** toinen taivas tämä jälke?”  
(KM 93)

(50a) ‘[. . .] all na so so **talk talk**.’ (MOP 67)

(50b) ”[. . .] kaikki olla se yksi **puhe-puhe** aina.” (KM 95)

The translator has resorted to literal translation to render the reduplications *go go* and *talk talk*, which strategy retains the markedness of the expressions. (The first element in *go go* can also be an indicator of future tense [Wren 1981: xxiv]). It could be argued that example (50a) is a pidgin clause and should be considered in subsection 5.1.4 below, but the expression *talk talk* can equally well derive from African language patterns and thus be a neologism.

#### B) Replacement of marked elements by unmarked ones

A further example of reduplication can be seen in the following example:

(51a) At work the engineers wore **white-white** or suits (FRA 188)

(51b) Insinöörit käyskentelivät työpaikalla **kokovalkoisissa** tai puku pykälässä  
(PIR 172)

*White-white* is defined by Bamiro (1997: 111) as a “mode of dress, in the fashion of the British colonialists, that consists of white shirts tucked into white shorts or trousers and sometimes complete with white socks, shoes, and hat”. The target rendering *kokovalkoisissa* simply describes that the engineers wore clothes that were all white, and the translation strategy employed is thus communicative paraphrase.

The widely known West-African neologism *head-tie* has been treated fairly uniformly by different translators:

(52a) he went over to Josiah’s shop across the road and bought a rayon **head-tie** for his mother [. . .] I had no mother to buy **head-ties** for (MOP 31)

(52b) hän meni Josiahin kauppaan tien toiselle puolelle ja osti raion**huivin** äidilleen [. . .] Minulla ei ollut äitiä, jolle ostaa **hiusnauhoja** (KM 50)

(53a) She went into the room and came out wearing her **head-tie**. ‘Let’s go.’ (EFU-S 151)

(53b) Hän kävi ensin sisällä hakemassa **pääliinan**. ”Lähdetään.” (EFU-T 149)

The translators have replaced *head-tie* by the unmarked Finnish words *huivi* ‘scarf’, *hiusnauha* ‘hair ribbon’ and *pääliina* ‘head scarf’.

The neologism *highlife* has sometimes been retained (see examples 47 and 48 above), but this lexical item has also been replaced by various unmarked words, often probably due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of the term:

(54a) We danced twice, then I suggested we took a walk away from the noisy **highlife band** and she readily agreed. (MOP 27)

(54b) Me tanssimme kahdesti, ja sitten ehdotin, että me lähtisimme pois tästä meluisasta **huvittelevasta joukosta**, ja hän suostui auliisti. (KM 46)

(55a) And that wretched band was really to blame. They depressed me the moment they began to play. And then this transition from **high-life** to rain *maraccas* has gone on far too long. (INT 19)

(55b) Ja se on todellisuudessa tuon viheliäisen orkesterin syytä. Se sai minut masentumaan sillä sekunnilla kun alkoi soittaa. Ja sitten tätä siirtymää **makeasta elämästä** sateen *maraccoihin* on kestänyt ihan liian pitkään. (TUL 22)

In example (54b), *highlife band* has been replaced by the presumed approximate dictionary equivalent *huvitteleva joukko* ‘a group of people having fun’, and in example (55b) *high-life* has been replaced by *makea elämä* ‘sweet life’.

In the following examples, the neologisms *pushful*, *going-blind*, *been-to* and *outdooring* have been translated by unmarked Finnish words and expressions:

(56a) I like to see **pushful** young men succeeding. (INT 83)

(56b) Minusta on mukava nähdä **tarmokkaiden** nuorukaisten onnistuvan. (TUL 101)

(57a) His good eye was half closed while his **going-blind** eye stayed open (PHIB 87)

(57b) terve silmä oli puoliksi kiinni mutta **sokeutuva** silmä auki (PURP 99)

(58a) — you don't give the impression that you know you're **a been-to**. When a Ghanaian has had a chance to go abroad and is returning home, it's clear from any distance he's **a been-to** coming back." (FRA 69)

(58b) — te ette vaikuta ollenkaan **maailmanmatkaajalta**. Kun ghanalainen joskus pääsee käymään ulkomailla ja palaa kotiin, hänestä näkyy jo pitkän matkan päästä että siinä palaa **maailmanmatkaaja**. (PIR 64)

(59a) "You'll give up the stupid **outdooring** ceremony or whatever it is." (FRA 122)

(59b) — Että luovut siitä typerästä **ulosvientiseremoniasta**, vai miksi sitä sanotaan. (PIR 112)

The translator has replaced *a been-to* by an unmarked Finnish word *maailmanmatkaaja* 'globe trotter'. *Outdooring* is a naming ceremony that takes place about eight days after a baby is born. The lexical item *outdooring* is rendered by a transparent neologism, *ulosvientiseremonia* 'ceremony of taking (something) outside'.

Some of the neologisms are explained by the author either in the glossary or inside the text itself:

(60a) Without being an '**armstrong**', Ali had always been careful with money. (CHA 64) (In glossary: *armstrong* Tightfisted. West African pidgin pun on the Scottish name. [CHA 167])

(60b) Vaikkei ollutkaan **saita** sentään **skottilaiseen tapaan**, Ali oli aina kuluttanut harkiten. (MU 87)

(61a) Esi was flabbergasted. Or rather, '**flabberwhelmed**'! Then she laughed softly to herself as she remembered the freakish word. Trust Ghanaians again. They had decided to create out of 'overwhelmed' and 'flabbergasted', a new word to describe an emotional state which they had decided the English were not capable of experiencing, and therefore had had no expression in their language for...

Yes, **flabberwhelmed**. That was what she was feeling as she sat in her excellent new car on New Year's Day at the hotel's car park. (CHA 149)

(61b) Esi oli ällikällä lyöty tai pikemminkin "**älläikällä kalautettu**"! Esi nauroi hiljaa itsekseen muistaessaan sanontakummajaisen. Kunnia ghanalaisille. He

olivat päättäneet luoda uuden sanan kuvaamaan tunnetilaa jota he eivät uskoneet englantilaisten kykenevän kokemaan. Sen takia näiden kieli ei aivan riittänyt kuvaamaan sitä...

Kyllä, **älikällä kalautettu**. Juuri siltä Esistä tuntui kun hän istui erinomaisessa uudessa autossaa hotellin parkkipaikalla uudenvuodenpäivänä. (MU 196)

The translator has replaced the neologism *armstrong* by an unmarked expression *saita skottilaiseen tapaan* 'stingy in a Scottish way', which she has inserted inside the text. *Flabberwhelmed* has been rendered by creating from the unmarked expression *älikällä lyöty* the slightly marked version *älikällä kalautettu*.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the strategies replacement by unmarked elements and omission, as can be seen in example (62). A common type of vehicle for the transportation of cargo and passengers in West Africa is a lorry especially converted for this purpose. In Nigeria, such a lorry is called *a mammy-wagon*:

(62a) Even strangers and **mammy-wagon** passengers making but a brief stop at the market were promptly warned off. (MOP 97)

(62b) Muukalaisiakin ja satunnaisia matkustajia, jotka pysähtyivät hetkeksi kauppapaikkaan, varoitettiin heti Josiahin kaupasta. (KM 131)

The neologism *mammy-wagon* has been omitted from the target text, where reference is made to 'occasional' passengers. Such a translatorial solution, however, could also be considered replacement by some other, unmarked, element. Neologisms in anglophone West African novels are a local feature the markedness of which seems to be difficult to reproduce in Finnish.

#### 5.1.4 Pidgin

##### A) Retention of markedness

In the material of this study, pidgin is an especially common feature in *A Man of the People* (1966). In this text, Chief Nanga, the Minister of Culture, is a rather fluent speaker of standard English (and Igbo), but he sometimes switches to pidgin to show his accessibility, that he is truly "a man of the people". In the following examples, pidgin and its Finnish translation are in added bold, while italics are original:

(63a) Later on in the Proprietor's Lodge I said to the Minister: 'You must have spent a fortune today.'

He smiled at the glass of cold beer in his hand and said:

**'You call this spend? You never see some thing, my brother. I no de keep anini for myself, na so so troway. If some person come to you and say "I wan' make you Minister" make you run like blazes comot. Na true word I tell you. To God who made me.'** He showed the tip of his tongue to the sky to confirm the oath. **'Minister de sweet for eye but too much katakata de for inside.** Believe me yours sincerely.' (MOP 15)

(63b) Myöhemmin johtajan luona sanoin ministerille: "Te olette varmasti kuluttanut omaisuuksia tänään."

Hän hymyili kädessään olevalle lasille, jossa oli kylmää olutta, ja sanoi:

**"Nimitätkö sinä tätä kuluttamiseksi. Sinä et tajua erästä asiaa, veli. Minä ei pitä raha itse, heittä se parempi pois. Jos joku kaveri tule sinun luo ja sano: 'Minä tahto tehdä sinu ministeri', sinä otta jalat alle ja painu karku kun raketti. Minä sano tosi sana. Niin totta kuin Jumala minut loi."** Hän näytti kielensä kärkeä taivaalle vahvistaakseen valan. **"Ministeri monta kerta päältä kaunis, mutta pelkkä katakata sisältä.** Vilpittömästi teidän, sulkeudun suosioonne." (KM 33)

Pidgin in *A Man of the People* may be difficult for readers outside of Nigeria to understand (Wren 1981: xxiii). The Finnish translator of the text translates the sentences of Chief Nanga's utterance into Finnish somewhat inconsistently. She has chosen to render pidgin by a Finnish variety which only learners of the language might use, if anyone. When there is code-switching from pidgin to standard English or vice versa inside one utterance, the translator has translated the code-switching as well, thus producing utterances where the speaker says one sentence in unmarked Finnish and another in a heavily marked variant. This marked variety could be called "Tarzanese" (Siitonen & Martin 2001: 256) or "savage/primitive talk", as it consists of linguistic features which have traditionally been connected to the language spoken by foreigners and especially by characters in Finnish literature who originate from outside the Western world. Typical linguistic features of this variety are verbs which are in the infinitive and stems of verb forms in 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular. An example of the use of this variety is the Finnish translation of the colonialist novel *Talking Drums* by Waldo Fleming. The novel, which is set in the Gold Coast, was published in Finland as *Rummut puhuvat* in 1948. In the text, white characters speak standard language, while African characters speak some nonstandard variety, probably meant to represent pidgin. This linguistic situation is illustrated in the passage below, where a young man of European descent, Philip, who

has grown up in Africa, talks with his childhood friend Utassi. Philip speaks standard Finnish, while Utassi uses a nonstandard variety of this language (in added bold):

Utassi ilmaantui sitruunamehun kanssa selittäen kiireisesti:

**"Tämä hyvä sitruunamehu, pomo. Minulla hyvin hyvä sitruuna ja paljon sokeri. Se olla sinusta hyvä. Nyt sinä juoda. Sinä tulla paremmaksi."**

"Kiitos, Utassi. Sivumennen - - -"

**"Nyt minä tehdä illallinen, tai H. S. olla vihainen."**

"H. S.?"

"Niin, **mistah O'Hara hän aina kutsua Pää sillä tavoin.**"

"Luulenpa että sinun on parasta sanoa isääni Pääksi", Philip virkkoi maistaen sitruunamehuaan. "Se kuuluu kunnioittavammalta."

**"Pää hän tulla pian, minä valmistaa hänelle illallinen"**, tolkkutti Utassi lipevänsä. **"Minä mennä laittamaan."** (Fleming 1948: 22)

All the verbs in Utassi's speech are in the infinitive (*olla, juoda, tulla, tehdä, kutsua, valmistaa, mennä*). In addition to "savage/primitive talk", this variety of Finnish could be labelled "foreigner talk", which, according to Ferguson (1981: 143), is the way native speakers of a language believe language learners in the initial stages speak, and which the native speakers consequently try to imitate in order to enhance understanding when communicating with such foreign interlocutors. The grammar of foreigner talk is simplified, for example inflectional forms tend to be replaced by uninflected ones, so that verbs may be in the infinitive, and articles and prepositions tend to be omitted. Foreigner talk is related to "baby talk", which was mentioned in subsection 3.3.3 as the precursor of pidgin, and in certain situations, foreigner talk can develop into pidgin as well (Ferguson 1981: 144, 147-148). "Savage/primitive talk" could this way be connected to pidgin.

Another well-known example of "savage/primitive talk" is seen in the first Finnish translation of *Robinson Crusoe* (Defoe 1962 [1905; originally written in 1719]) that was done directly from English (the first translations of the novel were through the intermediate languages German and Swedish [Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2013: 451-453]). In the novel, Friday says for example:

They more many than my nation in the place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me: my nation over-beat them in the yonder place, where me no was (Defoe 1977: 156)



Paha väki oli enempi kuin Perjantain väki. Ja ne ottaa yks, kaks, kolme ja Perjantai, mut minun kansa voittaa se paha väki toinen paikka, missä minä ei (Defoe 1962 :153)

One of the retranslators of the novel into Finnish, Juhani Lindholm, calls the traditional representation of *alkuasukaspuhe* 'savage/primitive talk' in Finland as *ukkapukkastandardi* (2003: 5). When he translated *Robinson Crusoe* into Finnish in 2000, he wanted to represent the speech of Friday in a different manner, for example, he uses verb forms which in his view would be more natural to the speech of language learners. Lindholm (2003: 5) gives as an example of the *ukkapukka* variety the sentence *minä mennä ja tehdä tuli* 'I to go and to make fire' (verbs are in the infinitive; in standard Finnish the sentence would be [*minä*] *menen ja teen tulen*). He prefers the form *minä mene ja teke tuli*, but it can be questioned whether his translatorial solutions are an improvement on the ones employed in the earlier translations of *Robinson Crusoe* into Finnish. Lindholm's representation of Friday's speech is criticised, for example, by Tiittula and Nuolijärvi (2013: 457) because they consider it rather unnatural and incomprehensible. In addition, the variety Lindholm employs does not seem to be an innovation in translated Finnish literature, as for example *Kansan mies* (1969) contains similar stem forms of verbs, for example *pitä*, *heittä*, *sano*, *tahto*, *otta*, and *tule* in example (63b). At least *tule* is not a shortened form of the infinitive, *tulla* 'to come', as the other verbs listed could be claimed to be; instead, it is most likely a stem of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular of this verb, *tulee*.

Pidgin can also be used to distinguish between different social classes. In the following passage, the waiter in a bar cannot speak standard English:

(64a) 'What is the matter?' he asked pushing the tray back into the waiter's hands.  
**'E no wan' pay for in drink.'**  
 'Then you should have called the manager.'  
**'Manager no dey. I no fit take dat kind ting. Governor-General self, e no fit beat me in execution of my duty.'**  
 'You realise he is my guest?'  
**'Wetin e wan make I do? E done pass my time for closing. I tell am say I . . .'**  
 (ITN 92)

(64b) - Mikä hätänä? hän kysyi tyrkäten tarjottimen takaisin tarjoilijalle.  
 - **Ei halua maksaa juomia.**  
 - Silloinhan teidän olisi pitänyt kutsua johtaja.  
 - **Johtajalle kuulu. Mun tartte niellä tollasta. Kenraalikuvernöörin senkään sovi lyödä minua kun hoidan työtä.**

- Tajuatte kai, että hän on minun vieraani?
- **Mitä tahtoo minun tehdä? Sulkeminen jo ajat sitten ohi. Minua sillä tavalla . . .** (TUL 112)

The waiter's speech is marked in Finnish as well, but it resembles a colloquial register and cannot be connected to any social class or age group. There is also some inconsistency (*mun/minun*, *minua* 'my', 'me') which would be unlikely to occur in anyone's speech. A more marked variety is used in the translation of the speech of Matias, a messenger boy in a newspaper office:

(65a) **'Oga, make a go drink my own for canteen.'**

'What for? I wanted you to drink with me. Or will my presence ruin your drink? I know you are rather sensitive.'

Mathias protested his love for Sagoe's company.

'In that case, don't sit on the edge of the chair. Relax man, what is the matter with you? I want to talk with you.'

**'Oga, sometimes den go want me for other office. Messenger job for newspaper office no get siddon time.'** (INT69)

(65b) — **Oga, mä meen juoma kanttiini.**

— Minkä takia? Haluan, että juot minun kanssani. Vai tuhoaako minun läsnäoloni nautintosi? Tiedän että olet aika herkkä joskus.

— **Oga, joskus tarttee mennä toisten toimisto. Kun lehden lähetti ei aikaa istua.** (TUL 84)

There is an omission of three lines in the target version, which may be an oversight.

In example (66a), there is code-switching from standard English to pidgin, probably to reflect the relaxed atmosphere between the interlocutors:

(66a) 'The Englishman has not left much of his diplomacy on you. You are more like American, straightforward. That is how I am too. You know, I like the American, they are not like the English, **too much cunny for English man, so so diplomacy but they are much more so wicked** even when they are saying Yes please and No thank you (INT 84)

(66b) — Englantilaiset eivät ole paljon jättäneet diplomatiaansa teihin. Olette enemmänkin kuin amerikkalainen, käynte suoraan asiaan. Samoin käyn minä. Minä tiedätekö pidän amerikkalaisista, he eivät ole lainkaan sellaisia kuin englantilaiset, **englantilainen liika ovela, niin niin diplomaatti, mutta niin paljon pahempi** silloin kun sanoo kyllä olkaa hyvä ja ei kiitos (TUL 102-103)

The target version contains some nonstandard features as well, but it is not as marked as the source-text sentence with its pidgin elements.

A bus driver explains the meaning of a sign on his bus in the following manner:

(67a) SMOG. Save Me Oh God. The explainer had laughed that time too, long enough to make her ask why.

“**Is funny, no?**” The explainer was the driver of one such bus bearing the sign. “**Poor man never get bank account. But he look far in de sky and he tink in him head he get some last chance. In heaven.**” (FRA 35-36)

(67b) *Smog*. Save Me Oh God, Säästä Minut Oi Herra. Selittäjä oli nauranut silläkin kerralla, niin kauan että hänen oli kysyttävä miksi.

— **Hyvä vitsi, eikö?** Selittäjä ajoi bussia jossa oli tuo tunnus. — **Köyhä mies ei koskaan saa pankkitili. Mutta hän katsoo kauas taivaalle ja ajattelee päässä että hän saa viimeinen tilaisuus. Taivaassa.** (PIR 34)

The translator has resorted to the retention of nonstandard language, probably to preserve to some extent the pidgin features in the bus driver’s speech. A similar translation strategy is seen in examples (68) and (69):

(68a) “**What time massa an’ madam wan’ wake up? I go come call am.**” (FRA 200)

(68b) — **Mikä aika herra ja rouva tahtoo herätys? Minä tulee herättää.** (PIR 183)

(69a) ‘Aunty!’ ‘Sister!’ ‘**Bring am now!**’ ‘**Hungry go kill all of us!**’ (HALF 272)

(69b) “Rouva!” “Sisko!” “**Tuo lihaa nyt!**” “**Nälkä menee tappaa meidät kaikki!**” (PKA 383)

In examples (67b), (68b) and (69b), the varieties of Finnish employed by the translators resemble the variety of a language learner that is used to translate pidgin in *Kansan mies* (“savage/primitive talk”), but the nonstandard linguistic features are somewhat less marked. For example, the verbs are neither in the infinitive nor in the shortened form (*saa, katsoo, ajattelee, tahtoo, tulee, menee*).

Translators can also transfer pidgin expressions directly to the target text:

(70a) “**How you go just come enter like dis? Wetin be dis?**” Obiora said, rising, the fear in his eyes not quite shielded by the brazen manliness in his pidgin English. (PHIB 231)

(70b) "**Mitä te tänne ryntäätte? Wetin be dis? Selittäkää!**" Obiora sanoi nousten pystyyn. Hänen silmissään oli pelkoa, jota edes miehisen uhoava pidginenglanti ei onnistunut täysin kätkemään. (PURP 248)

The translator has added italics to the transferred pidgin sentence and a short explanation *Selittäkää!* 'Please explain!'

#### B) Replacement of marked elements by unmarked ones

Mafeni (1971: 99) claims that domestic servants employed by European families in Nigeria usually master two variants of pidgin: "a minimal variety, which they use to their employers — and which is the only kind of Pidgin which most Europeans come across — and a fuller variety, Pidgin proper, which they use elsewhere". An example of the use of the minimal variety, which is also known as "Kitchen-English" (Zabus 1991: 73), is seen in the following passage where an Englishwoman speaks pidgin to her washer man:

(71a) "**We de go back to England!**" [. . .]

"**No be this week, but na week after this one,**" she added. [. . .]

"**No, no leave. England de fight the Germans.**" She smiled again, as if that would explain everything.

Nnaife stopped his ironing, putting the still glowing coal-iron in its cradle and thinking. Well, if that was so, what had it got to do with them?

"**But why Master?**" he persisted. "**Why 'im de go England? 'Im be no fight-fight man. Why, Madam?**" (JOM 84)

(71b) "**Me menemme takaisin Englantiin.**" [. . .]

"**Ei tällä viikolla vaan seuraavalla**", hän lisäsi. [. . .]

"**Ei, ei lomalle. Englanti sotii Saksaa vastaan.**" Nainen hymyili taas, ikään kuin se selittäisi kaiken.

Nnaife lopetti silittämisen, asetti vielä hehkuvan silitysraudan telineeseen ja mietti. Jos asia kerran oli niin, mitä se heihin kuului?

"**Mutta miksi isäntä?**" hän intti. "**Miksi hänen täytyy mennä Englantiin? Ei hän ole sotamies. Miksi?**" (NET 86)

The translator has replaced Pidgin English by standard Finnish, thus affecting the characterisation of the washer man as an uneducated person who cannot speak standard English.

In example (72a), two Ghanaians meet in an airplane on their way back to Ghana. One of the men, while talking about politics in Ghana, resorts to code-switching, which is likely to be a sign of solidarity between them:

(72a) he has the sweetest tongue in all of Ghana for singing his master's praises. It's the truth. And it doesn't matter to him even when the masters change. He can sing sweetly for anybody who *dey for top*." (FRA 67-68)

(72b) [ei] koko Ghanasta löydy toista joka osaisi yhtä hunajaisesti laulaa isäntänsä ylistystä. Se on totta. Eikä häneen vaikuta vaikka isäntä vaihtuisikin. Hän osaa laulaa hunajaisesti aina sille joka kulloinkin **istuu vallankahvassa**. (PIR 63)

The translator has replaced the marked pidgin phrase by an unmarked one. A similar translation strategy is employed in the following example:

(73a) "All we are saying, sole administrator must go! All we are saying, he must go! **No be so? Na so!**" (PHIB 228)

(73b) "Alas hallitojohtaja! **Vai ei käy? Kyllä käy!**" (PURP 246)

The use of a standard target variety reduces the hybridity present in the source text.

### C) Omission

Pidgin expressions are sometimes omitted from the target texts. Lagos grass cutters have a saying:

(74a) "**Na government work, ino dey finish**"; it is government work, it can never come to an end. (JOM 142).

(74b) sillä sanonta kuului: "Valtion työ ei valmistu koskaan." (NET 150)

The Finnish translator omits the pidgin clause and translates only the gloss (the explanation or cushioning) provided by the author, thus reducing the hybridity of the target text.

In the following section, I will analyse quantitatively a sample of 30 pages from each of the twelve anglophone West African novels and their translations into Finnish that form the material of the present study. The aim is to find out how recurring translation problems posed by africanised English have been solved by the translators of the texts, and whether general patterns could be observed in different translations which would make it possible to speculate on the nature of translation norms that have governed the translation of these novels. I will also investigate possible changes in the translation strategies during the almost half a century covered by my material which would indicate changes in the translation norms that have taken place during the past few decades in the

translation of anglophone West African novels into Finnish.

## **5.2 Quantitative analysis of the translation strategies used for africanised elements by Finnish translators**

In the quantitative section of this study, the first 30 pages of the twelve novels and their Finnish translations that form the material are analysed more closely. The samples to be analysed were chosen from the beginning of the novels and not, for example, from the beginning, middle and end of the novels, because I wanted to investigate how the authors present the africanised material to the readers when the borrowings and other cultural items occur for the first time in the texts. Authors often have some didactic purposes in mind as well when they compose their texts, and they may, for example, try to teach the readers the meanings of some borrowed words from their mother tongue. Consequently, there may be a cushioning or other type of explanation of a meaning when a borrowing is encountered for the first time in the text, and the writer expects the readers to remember the meaning of the word afterwards and does not provide any explanations when the same borrowing is used later in the same text.

The selected 30 pages from the beginning of each text contain about 30 pages of full text. There are likely to be differences in the word count per page between different texts, but the results show that there would be considerable differences in the amount of africanised material between the texts even if the words were counted and the same number of words from each text were analysed. It can therefore be assumed that the material collected for analysis by counting the pages only is representative enough. The extremes in the number of africanised elements in the first 30 pages of the novels were 2 in *Season of Anomy* (1973) and 64 in *Efuru* (1966).

The selection of the africanised elements that are included in the analysis is likely to be subjective, as can be expected in this kind of a research where the decision on which lexical items to count as culture-specific depends, for example, on the familiarity of the items as transcultural elements. The border between locally-known and widely-known cultural elements is also changing continuously, as new local cultural items become known internationally, for example *tsunami* after the earthquake in Asia in 2004. It is likely that no two researchers would select the same linguistic elements from my material as representing africanised English; thus I needed to rely on my intuition when deciding which cultural elements to choose and which ones to exclude from the analysis.

Even the selection of borrowings caused some problems, because there are words which may not be known in Finland even though they are widely known internationally, especially in the southern hemisphere (“tropical English”). I have included all borrowings from African languages that were italicised in the texts, but many of the writers under study did not mark borrowings in any way. Some fairly well-known words like *cassava*, *yam*, *kola* (or *kolanut*), *calabash* and *harmattan* were excluded from the analysis, to limit the number of items to be investigated and also because these terms could be considered transcultural elements. Some indication of the familiarity of different West African terms in Finland could be found in Kukkamäki (1948; see section 2.2.2). The writer of this travel book had italicised, for example, *juju* (9), *kenki* (87) and *High Life* (107), while *kassava* (51), *maniokki* (81) and *jamssi* (82) were not in italics. *Fufu*, in turn, was either italicised (85) or not (29). It can be noted that *kassava* and *maniokki* are synonyms, as both words refer to the same plant, cassava.

The words listed above as transcultural elements seemed to have a fairly uniform treatment by the translators: *cassava* (for example EFU-S 12, CHA 12) was rendered by *maniokki* (EFU-T [1989] 15, MU [2002] 24); *yam* (for example MOP 24, SOA 33, JOM 26) by *jamssi* (KM [1969] 42, LK [1976] 40) or *jamsjuuri* (NET [1989] 23) (and *yam garden* in PWJ 12 by *jamssitarha* PVJ [1963] 10); *kola* (for example EFU-S 4, CHA 22), *kolanut* (JOM 18) and *colanut* (SOA 12) by *koolapähkinä* (EFU-T 8, NET 14, LK 19) or *kolapähkinä* (MU 36); *calabash* (for example EFU-S 11, DL 22) by *kalebassi* (EFU-T 14, VR [1996] 28); and *harmattan* (for example PHIB 4) retained its original form (PURP [2010] 10). One exception to this practice was seen in *Nnu Egon tarina* (1989), where *begging calabash* (JOM 8) was translated as *kerjuukippo* (13) and another instance of *calabash* (JOM 17) as *lääkeastia* (13). Later in same text, however, *calabashes* (JOM 19) was rendered by *kalebassit* (15).

I also excluded from the analysis most of the proper names, as the names of people, cities, villages, streets and deities, among others, were usually retained in their original form (for example, *Obi Umunna* in JOM 11 and NET 6). An exception to this rule were two names, *Nnu Ego* and *Zurrjid*, which were included, as they have an authorial explanation or cushioning attached to them. Names of the deities encountered in the text samples included *Ogun* (SOA 13, LK 20), *Oshun* (INT 8, TUL [1980] 9), *Orisha* (EFU-S 28, EFU-T 30) and *Olisa* (JOM 19, NET 14). Currency units were also excluded, because they were transferred to the target texts without any explanations or significant modifications (for example, *Naira* in DL 8 was rendered by *naira* in VR 15).

The results of the quantitative analysis of the twelve novels will be presented chronologically, based on the publication date in Finland. The first text to be considered is *Palmuviinijuoppo* by Tutuola, which was published in Finland in 1963, and the last one is *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus* by Adichie, which was published in Finland in 2010. The purpose of the analysis is to detect general patterns and possible differences between the translators in their treatment of africanised material in the source texts which would make it possible to establish the concepts of translation that have governed the work of the individual translators, and also to suggest tentative formulations of norms as regards the translation of anglophone West African novels into Finnish. The chronological aspect enables the investigation of possible changes in the use of different translation strategies which would indicate changes that have taken place in the translation norms during the 47 years covered by my material.

The translation of four linguistic and cultural aspects in the twelve texts is analysed: borrowings, translation equivalents, neologisms and pidgin (see subsection 3.3.4). To recapitulate, borrowings are either loan words from African languages or loan-blends (an English head word and a borrowed African word which modifies the English word); translation equivalents are literal translations from African languages which are either marked linguistically or contain cultural material which can be considered unfamiliar to Western readers; neologisms are words derived from English which describe local West African phenomena; and pidgin is a local nonstandard variety of English. The detailed analyses of the selected pages are presented in Appendices 1-12.

The first text to be analysed, *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*, differs from the other texts in the material in that it is written almost in its totality using nonstandard language, i.e. Yoruba English. It can even be described as a text written in Yoruba but using English words. As it would not be possible to include all the instances of africanised elements found in the text, only the most conspicuous ones have been counted under the headings *translation equivalents* and *neologisms*.



Table 2. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of PVJ (1963) for africanised elements in PWD

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> <b>9</b>	Direct transfer	1	
	Approximate dictionary equivalent	8	
<b>Translation equivalents</b> <b>5</b>	Literal translation	2	
	Communicative paraphrase	3	
<b>Neologisms</b> <b>2</b>	Approximate dictionary equivalent	2	
<b>Total of africanised elements:</b> <b>16</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>3 (19%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>13 (81%)</b>

The borrowing *juju* occurs in the selected pages of *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* eight times. The word is rendered into Finnish by the approximate dictionary equivalent *loitsu* ‘spell’ or ‘incantation’, and *juju-man* is rendered by *loitsija*. One explanation for this translatorial solution could be that *juju* is also a Finnish word with a different meaning (see subsection 5.1.1). The marked expressions (translation equivalents) *I met a small rolling drum*, *I met a bed* and *all the food that he met there* are replaced by unmarked expressions in the Finnish version. The neologism which occurs also in the title of the novel, *drinkard*, is replaced by the unmarked Finnish word *juoppo* ‘drunkard’. The total figure of markedness that is retained, 3, compared to the number of unmarked renderings, 13, does not give a reliable picture of the degree of foreignisation in *Palmuviinijuoppo*. To further illustrate the marked translation solutions present in *Palmuviinijuoppo*, I compare a passage from this text to a retranslation into Finnish of 12 pages of *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*, published in 2004 as a chapter in an anthology of African short stories:

When the lady saw that the gentleman became a Skull, she began to faint, but the Skull told her if she would die she would die and she would follow him to his

house. But by the time that he was saying so, he was humming with a terrible voice and also grew very wild and even if there was a person two miles away he would not have to listen before hearing him, so this lady began to run away in that forest for her life, but the Skull chased her and within a few yards, he caught her, because he was very clever and smart as he was only Skull and he could jump a mile to the second before coming down. He caught the lady in this way: so when the lady was running away for her life, he hastily ran to her front and stopped her as a log of wood. (PWD 21-22)

Kun hieno neiti näki, että herrasmiehestä tuli Kallo, hän alkoi vaipua epätoivoon, mutta Kallo sanoi hänelle, että jos hieno neiti kuolisi, hän kuolisi ja seuraisi häntä hänen taloonsa. Mutta samalla kun Kallo sanoi niin, se mumisi hirveällä äänellä ja tuli myös hyvin rajuksi, ja jos kahden mailin päässä olisi ollut ihminen, hän ei olisi halunnut kuunnella Kalloa ennen kuin kuuli hänet, niin tämä hieno neiti alkoi juosta pois siitä metsästä henkensä edestä, mutta Kallo ajoi häntä takaa ja saavutti hänet muutaman yardin päässä, koska se oli hyvin älykäs ja sukkela, sillä se oli vain Kallo ja se saattoi hypätä mailista toiseen ennen kuin putosi. Näin se saavutti hienon neidin: kun hieno neiti juoksi henkensä edestä, Kallo juoksi kiireesti hänen eteensä ja pysäytti hänet kuin puupölkky. (PVJ 21)

Kun nainen näki että herrasmiehestä tuli Kallo hän alkoi menettää tajuntaansa, mutta Kallo sanoi että jos nainen kuolisi, nainen kuolisi ja seuraisi Kalloa tämän taloon. Mutta näin sanoessaan Kallo alkoi hyräillä karnealla äänellä ja muuttui hyvin hurjaksi ja jos joku olisi ollut vaikka kahdenkin mailin päässä niin kuuntelemattakin olisi hän sen äänen kuullut, ja niinpä tämä nainen lähti pakenemaan henkensä kaupalla metsän läpi ja Kallo lähti häntä jahtaamaan ja vain lyhyen matkan jälkeen jäi nainen kiinni, sillä Kallo oli ovela ja fiksu vaikka Kallo vain, ja se kykeni loikkaamaan mailin jos toisenkin ennen kuin tömähti maahan. Näin hän naisen nappasi: kun nainen pakeni henkensä hädässä, Kallo pikaisesti riensi naisen edelle ja pysäytti tämän kuin tukkipuu. (Tutuola 2004: 268)

The retranslation retains the nonstandard quality of *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* which is characterised, for example, by repetition and long sentences, but it is nevertheless more comprehensible and fluent than the same passage in *Palmuviinijuoppo*. For example, the clause *even if there was a person two miles away he would not have to listen before hearing him* has a marked rendering in *Palmuviinijuoppo*, *jos kahden mailin päässä olisi ollut ihminen, hän ei olisi halunnut kuunnella Kalloa ennen kuin kuuli hänet*, while in the retranslation, literal translation results in an unmarked rendering. Yet, in spite of the fairly nonstandard quality of *Palmuviinijuoppo*, the translator has normalised many nonstandard instances of Tutuola's language, probably to enhance a more fluent reading of the target text.

The second anglophone West African novel in Finnish translation was *A Man of the People* (1966). A distinctive feature of the text is its high number of pidgin utterances.

Table 3. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of KM (1969) for africanised elements in MOP

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> <b>4</b>	Direct transfer	1	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend	2	
	Direct transfer (+ deletion of one letter; probably a misprint)	1	
<b>Translation equivalents</b> <b>2</b>	Literal translation	2	
<b>Neologisms</b> <b>6</b>	Direct transfer	2	
	Approximate dictionary equivalent	2	
	Co-hyponym (unmarked)	1	
	Literal translation, change of denotation (unmarked)	1	
<b>Pidgin</b> <b>26</b>	Retention of nonstandard language	17	
	Direct transfer + retention of nonstandard language	4	
	Approximate dictionary equivalent	1	
	Communicative paraphrase	1	
	Communicative paraphrase (+ change of denotation?)	1	

	Direct transfer of pidgin word (change of denotation)	1	
	Omission	1	
<b>Total of africanised elements: 38</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>31 (82%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>7 (18%)</b>

In the first 30 pages of the source text, eight different people use pidgin: the first-person narrator Odili, Chief Nanga, his body guard, Mr Nwege, Josiah the shop owner, Mrs John, James the journalist, and Odili's friend Andrew. Most of these characters can also speak standard English, but for one reason or another they sometimes resort to pidgin. The language variety they use in the source text and the Finnish renderings of the nonstandard utterances do not differentiate in any way between the speakers.

The Finnish translator of the text is somewhat inconsistent concerning the translation of pidgin into Finnish, as was observed in subsection 5.1.4. The variety she uses, which could be called "Tarzanese" or "savage/primitive talk", is usually connected to language learners. Yet, as Mair (1992: 281) remarks, "Pidgin is not the result of lesser breeds attempting to speak proper English and failing miserably to do so, but a code that combines features of English, the prime lexical donor language, and the phonetics and structural properties of various African substrates". The Finnish translator seems to have missed the function of pidgin as a kind of lingua franca in West Africa and considered it instead a language variety of "lesser breeds attempting to speak" the standard variety.

Sometimes, the sense of the pidgin expressions seems to have escaped the Finnish translator. In the exchange where a pidgin idiom *Who dash frog coat?* is used she has translated it with a reference to a frock coat, which is unintelligible in the context but may suggest an African idiom. The literal meaning of *Who dash frog coat?* is, according to Bandia (2008: 135), *Who gave away a coat to a frog?*, as the pidgin word *dash* can be glossed as 'to give something away for free'. In the context of the expression in *A Man of the People*, Bandia (2008: 135) suggests that the meaning is *You must be kidding?* The translator has omitted completely the pidgin sentence *Give me tori*, which,

according to Bandia (2008: 135), can be glossed as ‘tell me about it’.

There are a few pidgin words in the selected pages. The word *palaver* has been transferred into Finnish as *palaveri*, which in the target language has the meaning ‘meeting’ or ‘negotiation’. Wren (1981: xxv) comments on the three pidgin terms in the selected pages, *katakata*, *palaver* and *wahala*, that even though there are usually no synonyms in pidgin, these three words all refer to some kind of trouble: “*Katakata* suggests confusion; *palaver* implies controversy; *wahala* simply means ‘trouble’”. The pidgin word *pickin* is replaced by its unmarked Finnish dictionary equivalent *pikkuruinen* ‘a small one’. The neologism *cowrie-shell eye* has been replaced by a co-hyponym and also a neologism, *raakunkuorisilmä*. The dictionary equivalent for *a cowrie* would be ‘kaurikotilo’, a tropical snail belonging to the genus *Cypraea*.

There are many translation equivalents in the beginning of the next text, *Fragments* (1969), because the first chapter of the novel (pages 1-16) is narrated by Naana, the protagonist Baako’s blind grandmother, who still remembers the traditional Akan way of life, and her language reflects her special status as the carrier of old traditions. She cannot speak English, and Armah has translated her thoughts and speech patterns fairly literally from an indigenous language into English. The translator of *Pirstaleita* (1971) has resorted either to literal translation or to the use of communicative paraphrase when rendering Naana’s linguistically and culturally marked expressions into Finnish.

Table 4. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of PIR (1971) for africanised elements in FRA

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> <b>5</b>	Direct transfer	5	
<b>Translation equivalents</b> <b>6</b>	Literal translation	3	
	Communicative paraphrase	3	
<b>Total of africanised elements:</b> <b>11</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>8 (73%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>3 (27%)</b>

There is one problematic passage for the Finnish translator in the first 30 pages of *Fragments*. In this passage, Naana describes Baako's departure ceremony and how Baako's uncle Foli is pouring a libation of alcohol (*hot drink* which refers to strong alcohol that is made locally, such as gin) to the ancestors, whom Naana refers to as *those gone before*, to secure a safe journey for Baako:

Only after those words did Foli think to begin pouring out the schnapps he had been holding in those hands of his which hate so much to let hot drink escape. He had kept the spirits waiting like begging children for the drink of their own libation and, thirsty drunkard that he has always been, even when at last he began to pour it out he only let go of little miserly drops, far from enough to end the long thirst of a single one of those gone before. (FRA 6-7)

Vasta nämä sanat lausuttuaan Foli alkoi harkita viinan kaatamista. Hän oli pidellyt pulloa käsissään jotka aina niin vastahakoisesti päästävät tulisen juoman otteestaan. Hän oli antanut viinan odottaa kuin kerjäten lapsilta heidän juomauhriaan itselleen, ja kun se vanha janoinen juoppo vihdoinkin viimein rupesi kaatamaan, hän lirautti vain pari kitsasta pisaraa jotka eivät taatusti riittäneet sammuttamaan yhdenkään aiemmin lähteneen pitkää janoa. (PIR 9-10)

There is confusion in the target text between the two meanings of *the spirits* as 'the ancestors' and 'alcohol', so that while in the source text *the spirits*, meaning *those gone before*, are waiting for their libation, in the target version it is *viina* 'alcohol' that is waiting. Also, the source version *the spirits waiting like begging children* (meaning "like children who beg") has been rendered by *kuin kerjäten lapsilta [. . .] itselleen* 'as if [Foli is] begging from children'. These kinds of changes of denotation decrease the comprehensibility and fluency of the target text.

Soyinka's second novel, *Season of Anomy* (1973), was published in Finland (*Laittomuuden kausi* 1976) before his first novel *The Interpreters* (1965; *Tulkit* 1980). The text extract does not contain much africanised language, as can be seen in Table 5:

Table 5. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of LK (1976) for africanised elements in SOA

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> <b>1</b>	Direct transfer	1	
<b>Translation equivalents</b> <b>1</b>	Literal translation	1	
<b>Total of africanised elements:</b> <b>2</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>  <b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>2 (100%)</b>  <b>0</b>

The Finnish translator of *Season of Anomy* usually translates the source-text elements faithfully, almost word-for-word. This literal translation strategy sometimes results in target renderings which do not seem to fit the context of the words or expressions in the target text. In the following example, the word *kites* is translated as *leijat*, the (inanimate) objects flown in the wind, while in the source text, the likely meaning of the word is birds of prey:

Gun-bursts, tang of powder, angry dispersions of kites. [. . .] The kites circled the hunters from a safe height, swooped down as they disappeared and snatched up the shreds of red-headed lizards. (SOA 13)

Laukaussarjoja, ruudin käryä, vihaisesti hajaantuvia leijoja. [. . .] Leijat kaartelivat metsästäjien yllä turvallisen korkealla, syöksähtivät alas heidän mentyään ja sieppasivat punapäisten sisiliskojen riekaleet. (LK 20)

This confusion in the denotative meaning of the term *kite* increases the difficulty of the target text.

Like Soyinka in *Season of Anomy*, Armah does not use many africanised elements in *Why Are We so Blest?* (1972). The translator has transferred the borrowings into the target text *Mistä meille tämä armo* and employed communicative paraphrase to render translation equivalents into Finnish.

Table 6. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of MM (1979) for africanised elements in WHY

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> <b>3</b>	Direct transfer	2	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend	1	
<b>Translation equivalents</b> <b>3</b>	Communicative paraphrase	3	
<b>Total of africanised elements:</b> <b>6</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>3 (50%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>3 (50%)</b>

Even though there is not much africanised material in the first 30 pages of the novel, there is linguistic hybridity in the text, as there are a few instances of italicised French words and sentences (for example, “*Mon père? Il est mort*” WHY 15; “*C’est tout, mon frère*” WHY 19). These French expressions are either translated into Finnish (*Isäkö? Se on kuollut* MM 10; italics in the original), or transferred directly into the target text (*C’est tout, mon frère* MM 14; italics in the original). Retained French expressions increase the hybridity of the target text.

*The Interpreters* (1965) contains more africanised language than Soyinka’s second novel *Season of Anomy* (Table 5). Most of the italicised Yoruba words (borrowings) in the text are explained in a glossary at the end of the novel, and a glossary is also included at the end of the target text *Tulkit*.



Table 7. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of TUL (1980) for africanised elements in INT

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> 9	Direct transfer	6	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend	2	
	Direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning	1	
<b>Translation equivalents</b> 2	Literal translation	2	
<b>Neologisms</b> 8	Calque	5	
	Calque (unmarked)	1	
	Literal translation, change of denotation	2	
<b>Total of africanised elements:</b> 19	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>16 (84%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>3 (16%)</b>

One neologism, *high-life*, occurs twice in the selected pages of *The Interpreters*. The translator has rendered the term in the first instance in *Tulkit* as *makea elämä* ‘sweet life’, and in the second instance as *elintaso* ‘(high) living standard’. As was noted in section 4.3, *high-life* is actually a popular music style in West Africa. Another neologism, *too-knows*, has been replaced by a low-frequency Finnish word, *liikaviisaita*, which I have counted as an unmarked rendering. The neologism *drink lobes* has been calqued as *juomalohkot*, which translation strategy retains the markedness present in the source text. The borrowings and translation equivalents have similarly been translated by strategies that retain the markedness of the words and expressions.

*The Joys of Motherhood* (1979) is partly set in the countryside and contains many words and expressions that have their origin in Igbo culture. Emecheta usually explains the meanings of the strange elements inside the text (cushioning; see subsection 3.3.1).

Table 8. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of NET (1989) for africanised elements in JOM

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> <b>31</b>	Direct transfer	23	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend	1	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend, added explanation	1	
	Direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning	4	
	Approximate dictionary equivalent	2	
<b>Translation equivalents</b> <b>1</b>	Calque	1	
<b>Neologisms</b> <b>1</b>	Approximate dictionary equivalent	1	
<b>Total of africanised elements:</b> <b>33</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>30 (91%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>3 (9%)</b>

The translator of *Nnu Egon tarina* has usually opted for faithful rendering of the africanised elements, for example, she has retained the wording of the translation equivalent *having died a “complete woman”*, *hän oli kuollut “täytenä naisena”*, which may be opaque for Western readers. There are also a few renderings of borrowings and a neologism by approximate dictionary equivalents, and an addition of explanation to an

*Eke night*, which is glossed as *markkinapäivä* ‘market day’.

Like *The Joys of Motherhood*, *Efuru* (1966) is set in a countryside village, and it contains a high number of cultural elements that describe Igbo traditional way of life.

Table 9. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of EFU-T (1989) for africanised elements in EFU- S

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> <b>54</b>	Direct transfer	30	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend	23	
	Direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning; change of denotation	1	
<b>Translation equivalents</b> <b>10</b>	Literal translation	6	
	Communicative paraphrase	4	
<b>Total of africanised elements:</b> <b>64</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>60 (94%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>4 (6%)</b>

Nwapa uses more africanised language than any other writer of the twelve novels analysed, as there are a total of 64 instances of africanised elements in the selected pages. The Finnish translator has been fairly consistent in maintaining the markedness of the source text. She has employed the translation strategy of communicative paraphrase only four times; the rest (60) of the africanised elements in the selected pages retain their markedness in the target text *Efuru*.

*Dangerous Love* (1996) is the only novel by Okri translated into Finnish (*Vaarallista rakkautta*) thus far.

Table 10. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of VR (1996) for africanised elements in DL

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> <b>9</b>	Direct transfer	6	
	Direct transfer + added explanation	1	
	Direct transfer + communicative paraphrase of (marked) cushioning	1	
	Approximate dictionary equivalent	1	
<b>Pidgin</b> <b>2</b>	Communicative paraphrase	1	
	Replacement of a pidgin borrowing by another borrowing	1	
<b>Total of africanised elements:</b> <b>11</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>9 (82%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>2 (18%)</b>

The borrowing *Moro moro* has been transferred directly to the target text. Direct transfer of this term can be counted either as a marked or an unmarked rendering, because the lexical items *moro* and *moro moro* are used as greetings in some geographical dialects of Finnish. The cushioning of the borrowing *Afaricorodo*, *shine-shine head*, contains reduplication (interference from either pidgin or indigenous languages) which is absent in the target rendering *pulipää*, probably because it would be difficult to replicate the expression in Finnish in a meaningful way. The borrowing *juju* occurs twice in the first 30 pages of *Dangerous Love*, and it has two different treatments by the translator. In the first instance, it is transferred directly and an explanation is added to it which glosses the word as *taikakalu* ‘charm’ or ‘amulet’. In the second

instance, only the gloss is used (approximate dictionary equivalent). The pidgin word *palaver* ‘trouble’ is replaced by another opaque term *waka waka*.

There are two translation solutions in the last page of chapter 1 in *Vaarallista rakkautta* which are difficult to explain. In the first one, the translator has changed the source-text discussion about corruption being the new morality in society to discussion about the inferiority of black men:

Tuwo in his affected accent said something about corruption being the new morality. And one of the men Omovo could not see shouted: ‘They are pissing on our heads. We are like gutters.’ (DL 10)

Tuwo sanoi teennäisellä aksentillaan jotakin mustien miesten alempiarvoisuudesta. Ja yksi miehistä, jota Omovo ei nähnyt, huusi: ”Ne kusee meidän silmille. Kuin oltaisiin katuojia.” (VR 16)

*Dangerous Love* is set in the 1970s, after the Biafra war, when Nigeria was ruled by military governments. Thus, corruption being a social problem obviously had nothing to do with the low position of black people as also high positions in society were held by them. One explanation to the odd target-text rendering *Tuwo sanoi teennäisellä aksentillaan jotakin mustien miesten alempiarvoisuudesta* ‘Tuwo said in his artificial accent something about the inferiority of black men’ can be found in *The Landscapes Within* (1981), Okri’s second novel, which he rewrote and published as *Dangerous Love*. In *The Landscapes Within*, the same passage is like this:

Tuwo in his affected accent said something about the black men being inferior, and one of the men Omovo could not see shouted:

‘Dey jus dey piss for our head. We all be like gutter.’ (Okri 1981: 9)

“Dey” (‘they’) obviously refers to the rulers of the country, who do not care about the difficulties of the ghetto dwellers.

The second translation solution which is difficult to explain in *Vaarallista rakkautta* is the omission of the last sentence of chapter 1 in *Dangerous Love*:

He jumped down from the wall and went to the compound front and set out on another of his walks.

This walk would subtly change his life. (DL 10)

Hän hypähti alas muurilta ja meni pihapiirin etupuolelle. Sitten hän lähti tavanomaiselle kävelyllään. (VR 16)

Again, the explanation to this translation solution may be found in *The Landscapes Within*, which does not contain the last sentence either:

He jumped down from the wall and sauntered towards the front of the compound. He needed a long stroll. He was grimly aware that the pure strain of joy that had risen within him had now dissipated. (Okri 1981: 10)

Some translation solutions in *Vaarallista rakkautta* may thus be explained by the suggestion that the Finnish translator has used the earlier version of the novel as well during the translation work.

Aidoo uses many borrowings in the selected pages of *Changes: A Love Story* (1991).

Table 11. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of MU (2002) for africanised elements in CHA

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> <b>10</b>	Direct transfer	7	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend	2	
	Approximate dictionary equivalent	1	
<b>Translation equivalents</b> <b>1</b>	Literal translation	1	
<b>Neologisms</b> <b>1</b>	Approximate dictionary equivalent	1	
<b>Total of africanised elements:</b> <b>12</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>10 (83%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>2 (17%)</b>

Most of the unfamiliar lexical items in the text are explained in a glossary at the end of the novel. For example, *kenkey* is glossed as “[a] coastal Ghanaian staple of cooked corn meal and one of the solid foundations of a vast national food industry” (CHA 167). In

*Muutoksia – eräs rakkaustarina*, the gloss for *kenkey* is more detailed, describing that corn-meal dough is wrapped in banana leaves: “Ghanan rannikon ruokalaji. Maissisoseesta tehty taikina kääritään banaaninlehtiin” (MU 217). The Finnish translator retains most of the markedness in the selected pages.

Adichie has inserted many Igbo borrowings in her novels *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006; Table 12) and *Purple Hibiscus* (2003; Table 13).

Table 12. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of PKA (2009) for africanised elements in HALF

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings 38</b>	Direct transfer	31	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend	1	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend, added explanation	2	
	Direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning	2	
	Direct transfer + added explanation	1	
	Approximate dictionary equivalent	1	
<b>Translation equivalents 1</b>	Literal translation + change of denotation	1	
<b>Neologisms 1</b>	Direct transfer + added explanation	1	
<b>Total of africanised elements: 40</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>38 (95%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>2 (5%)</b>

Adichie gives glosses to many Igbo words inside the text but for a non-Igbo speaker, it is often impossible to know whether the English words adjacent to the borrowings are glosses or not. The translator of *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* retains all the borrowings (with or without translatorial explanations) except one, as she replaces *okwuma* by *karitevoi* 'shea butter', the Finnish dictionary equivalent of the Igbo word. As regards the rendering of the only translation equivalent in the pages analysed of *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the Finnish translator has opted to replace the simile where soft sounds are compared to a chicken's under feathers by *kuin tuulen humina* 'like the whisper of the wind', probably because the original image was considered too strange for target readers. The neologism *High Life music* has been retained, but an explanation is added which specifies it to be West African dance music.

There is one feature in *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* which increases the hybridity of the text considerably: the translator has transferred directly many English words and expressions to the target text, some of which are italicised in *Half of a Yellow Sun*. For example, *yes, sah*; *no, sah*; and *sah* (which could even be counted as pidgin) occur in the selected pages of *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* (11-51) 56 times, *yes, mah* and *mah* 4 times. In addition, there are 22 other italicised English words, expressions and even sentences in the analysed section of *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa*, among them *[w]here are you, my good man* (PKA 16); *[e]ducation is a priority* (PKA 22); *[s]ah? You will eat?* (PKA 29); *[d]ivision of labour, my good man* (PKA 30); *[a]rtful negotiation* (PKA 37), *I serve now, sah* (PKA 38) and *I am serving now* (PKA 38). Many of these lexical items could be considered traces within traces i. e. English words in a conversation which "really" takes place in Igbo. However, I consider them English expressions and consequently exclude them from the analysis.

Adichie's first novel *Purple Hibiscus* (2003) was published in Finland one year after *Half of a Yellow Sun* (*Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* 2009).



Table 13. Translation strategies used in first 30 pages of PURP (2010) for africanised elements in PHIB

Africanised element N	Translation strategy	Number of instances of translation strategy used	Total of marked or unmarked renderings of africanised elements (%)
<b>Borrowings</b> <b>42</b>	Direct transfer	29	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend	1	
	Direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend, added explanation	1	
	Direct transfer + added explanation	5	
	Approximate dictionary equivalent	6	
<b>Translation equivalents</b> <b>2</b>	Literal translation	1	
	Literal translation + added explanation	1	
<b>Total of africanised elements:</b> <b>44</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained</b>		<b>38 (86%)</b>
	<b>Total of unmarked renderings</b>		<b>6 (14%)</b>

The novel begins with an allusion to Achebe's best-known novel *Things Fall Apart* (1958): "Things started to fall apart at home when [. . .]" (PHIB 3), which is rendered into Finnish fairly literally: "Kaikki alkoi luhistua sinä päivänä [. . .]" (PURP 9). *Things Fall Apart* was not translated into Finnish until 2014 (*Kaikki hajoaa*), thus the allusion is probably lost to most of the readers of *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus*. There are slightly more borrowings in the selected pages of *Purple Hibiscus* (42) than in *Half of a Yellow Sun* (38). Six of the borrowings in *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus* have been replaced by approximate dictionary equivalents, and there are explanations added to six other borrowings, which translation strategies increase the comprehensibility of the target text.

### 5.3 Discussion

As was seen in the previous two sections, Finnish translators have employed a variety of different translation strategies to render africanised English in West African novels into Finnish. Borrowings are either transferred directly, with or without explanations about their meaning, or they are rendered by their approximate dictionary equivalents. Omission of borrowings is rarely seen. Translation equivalents are usually translated literally, thus maintaining the African cultural content of these expressions. Neologisms seem to be difficult for translators to retain, as they are usually replaced by unmarked target elements. Pidgin similarly seems to have been problematic to translate into Finnish, and different target-language varieties, ranging from heavily marked “Tarzanese”, as it is sometimes called, to standard Finnish, have been used to render this local variety of English in the target texts. Sometimes pidgin expressions have even been omitted.

The qualitative part of the analysis investigated the range of translation strategies employed by Finnish translators when translating the africanised linguistic and cultural elements in anglophone West African novels. The translation strategies employed were divided into two groups: retention of marked elements and replacement of hybrid (marked) africanised material by unmarked material. In the quantitative part of the study, 30 pages from the beginning of each of the twelve source and target texts were analysed, and the translation strategies employed for features of africanised English were established. The results of the quantitative analysis are presented in Tables 2 to 13 in section 5.2. This analysis shows considerable differences between the source texts concerning the number of africanised elements in the 30 pages studied, as the lowest figure is 2 (*Season of Anomy* 1973) and the highest is 64 (*Efuru* 1966). This difference in the amount of hybrid africanised material is reflected in the target texts as well, as the general trend observable in the quantitative analysis is that the translators of the twelve texts are inclined to retain the markedness present in the source texts. A summary of the total figures of africanised elements in the source texts and of markedness retained in the target texts is presented in Table 14.

Table 14. Number of africanised elements in the extracts of the source texts and their retention in the target-text extracts

Year of publication of target text	Source text/target text	Table	Total of africanised elements in source text	Total of markedness retained in target text (%)
1963	PWD/PVJ	2	16	3 19%
1969	MOP/KM	3	38	31 82%
1971	FRA/PIR	4	11	8 73%
1976	SOA/LK	5	2	2 100%
1979	WHY/MM	6	6	3 50%
1980	INT/TUL	7	19	16 84%
1989	JOM/NET	8	33	30 91%
1989	EFU-S/ EFU-T	9	64	60 94%
1996	DL/VR	10	11	9 82%
2002	CHA/MU	11	12	10 83%
2009	HALF/PKA	12	40	38 95%
2010	PHIB/PURP	13	44	38 86%

The results of the quantitative analysis show that the retention of africanised elements in translation does not differ considerably either between different translations or between texts published in different times during the past 50 years. The investigation of target-text solutions and source-text problems in descriptive translation studies aims at a chance to speculate on the nature of norms that have constrained the translating of the texts under study. The period of 47 years covered by my material was expected also to make it possible to detect changes that may have taken place in the norms regulating the translation of anglophone West African fiction in Finland. The first anglophone West African novel published in Finland, *Palmuviinijuoppo* (1963), seems to contain least marked material when compared to the number of africanised elements in the source text, as only 3 instances out of 16 present in the source text have been retained in translation. But, as was explained above before Table 2 in section 5.2, *The Palm-Wine*

*Drinkard* is written in nonstandard Yoruba English, and the translator has retained many instances of nonstandard language which could not be included in the analysis. The method of extracting africanised elements from source texts does not seem to suit texts that contain a large amount of nonstandard language particularly well. Similar problems were encountered in the analysis of *A Man of the People* (1966)/ *Kansan mies* (1969), as pidgin is used in the source text more than could conveniently be included in the analysis section (see Appendix 2).

Even though not much difference between texts can be seen in the figures of markedness retained in Table 14, there are differences, for example, in the number of added explanations, which translation strategy increases domestication. These differences point towards a possibility to suggest that the translators of the earlier texts *Palmuviinijuoppo* (1963), *Kansan mies* (1969), *Pirstaleita* (1971), *Laittomuuden kausi* (1976), *Mistä meille tämä armo* (1979) and *Tulkit* (1980) have employed a global strategy of foreignisation. In these texts, loans are usually borrowed without any added explanations, and nonstandard language and awkward linguistic structures are often rendered by expressions that retain the markedness of the source expressions, probably to highlight the strange linguistic and cultural background of the source texts. A gradual change from source-oriented translation strategies towards more target-oriented strategies can be seen to have taken place at the end of the 1980s, when *Nnu Egon tarina* (1989) and *Efuru* (1989) were published in Finland. The translator of *Nnu Egon tarina* already adds explanations to some borrowings which the author did not gloss, for example, *Eke* is explained to be *markkinapäivä* ‘market day’. She also translates some borrowings using approximate dictionary equivalents, for instance, in example (29) *buba* is translated as *pusero*. Pidgin as well is rendered by a standard variety in example (71) and omitted altogether in example (74). Yet, such domesticating translation strategies are not resorted to in the translation of *Efuru*, as it is translated with neither additions of explanations to borrowings nor additions of italics. The remaining four texts, *Vaarallista rakkautta* (1996), *Muutoksia – eräs rakkaustarina* (2002), *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* (2009) and *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus* (2010), contain a fair number of instances where borrowings are explained inside the text (or in a glossary in *Muutoksia*), or replaced by approximate dictionary equivalents. Nonstandard source language and instances of metatext of culture as well have often been replaced by unmarked linguistic and cultural elements, resulting in more comprehensible and fluent target texts.

Increase in the degree of domestication is most visible in the translation of *Puolikas*

*keltaista aurinkoa* and *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus*. Tables 12 and 13 show that the translator of *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus* does not retain borrowings as often as the translator of *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa*: there are six instances in the selected pages where she replaces Igbo borrowings in the source text by their approximate dictionary equivalents, while the translator of *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* replaces only one borrowing by a dictionary equivalent. The number of instances of borrowings in the first 30 pages of the two novels by Adichie is approximately the same: 38 in *Half of a Yellow Sun* and 42 in *Purple Hibiscus*. Both translators add explanations to borrowings, as there are three explanations in *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* and six in *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus*. In addition, the translator of *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* changes the image in the translation equivalent and adds information to the neologism. Based on these findings, it can be claimed that both translators domesticate the target texts to a certain degree. When compared to the earlier anglophone West African novels in Finnish translation analysed in Tables 2-11 above, it can be argued that these two novels by Adichie have been translated using more domesticating strategies than the earlier ten novels. In the following, possible reasons for this perceived change in the translation practice of anglophone West African literature into Finnish are discussed, and the results of the analysis are related to the norms (see section 4.1) that seem to have prevailed in Finland during the translation of the novels studied and to possible norm changes that have taken place during the period of almost half a century covered by my material.

Translated literature has a strong position in Finland, as the market for prose fiction is divided fairly evenly between original Finnish texts and translated works. For example, in 2009, 609 works of prose fiction were published in Finland, 317 (52%) of which were written originally in Finnish and 292 (48%) were translated works. In 2013, the total figure was 652, and originally Finnish texts comprised 312 (48%) of these and translated texts 340 (52%) (Suomen Kustannusyhdistys 2013). Translated literature from Africa, however, has traditionally had a marginal position in the literary market in Finland, and this type of literature has been dominated by a few white South African authors, such as André Brink, J.M. Coetzee and Nadine Gordimer (Tervonen 2007: 233-234). Africa is considered to be a distant and strange continent, and African texts that are selected for publication in Finland usually arrive here through British and French publishing houses (Tervonen 2007: 233). It is worth noting that even though the twelve target texts that form the material of the present study were all translated directly from English into Finnish, the first work presenting writing by black West African authors in

Finland, *Afrikka kertoo: Valikoima nykyafrikkalaista proosaa* (Wästberg 1962), was translated from Swedish (*Afrika berättar* 1961). It is an anthology of short stories and excerpts from African literature, and it includes one chapter from *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*, “Kenttäolennot”.

According to Tervonen (2007: 233-234), 88 African works had been published in Finland before 2003, the northern part of Africa included. Among these works, 46 originated from South Africa, ten from Nigeria, and eight from Morocco. African texts were published rather infrequently in Finland up to the beginning of the 1980s, when the activity on the publishing front started to increase. Novels e.g. by Wole Soyinka, Nuruddin Farah, Mariama Bâ and Tahar Ben Jelloun were published in Finnish translation during that decade, and a certain need was obviously perceived to exist in Finland for works by black African women writers, as five such novels, among them texts by Buchi Emecheta and Flora Nwapa, were published in Finland in 1988-1990 by two small publishing houses, Art House and Kääntöpiiri. The sales figures of these novels were probably not satisfactory, as interest in publishing African literature soon faded in Finland. Bigger publishing houses continued to publish works by established South African and other writers whose texts could be expected to be economically viable.

Obviously, the anglophone West African novels forming the material in the present study were usually selected for publication in Finland owing to their informational rather than literary value. The best-known texts by the authors were not chosen to be published in Finland (Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* [1958], Armah's *The Beautiful Ones Are not yet Born* [1968] and Okri's *The Famished Road* [1991], among others) as the novels published in Finland were probably expected to illuminate and provide background information on current events taking place in Africa, such as the attainment of independence, military coups, civil wars, and disillusionment and deterioration of living conditions on the subcontinent. There are exceptions to this trend, especially *Palmuviinijuoppo* (1963), which is based on Yoruba folklore and does not treat colonialism and decolonisation. Nor do Adichie's two novels conform to the trend described above, as these texts have won literary prizes, and the theme of *Half of a Yellow Sun* at least, the Biafra war (1967-1970), cannot be thought to represent current news emanating from Africa. Adichie's success in Finland could even be seen to reflect a process where domesticating translating practice may “initiate a significant canon reformation” (Venuti 1998: 12). In the past five years, four texts by Adichie have been

published in Finnish translation (*Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* (2009), *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus* (2010), *Huominen on liian kaukana* 2011, and *Kotiinpalaajat* 2013). In addition, Achebe's *Kaikki hajoaa* (2014) and two texts by black women who could be considered West African writers (*Muisto rakkaudesta* [2013] by Aminatta Forna and *Ghana ikuisesti* [2013] by Taile Selasi) have been published in Finland in the past two years.

As was explained in section 4.1, accountability norms (Chesterman 1997: 68) refer to the translator behaving in an ethical manner towards all parties in the translation event: the commissioner, the source-text author, and the target audience. As concerns the translating of anglophone West African novels investigated in this study, these texts may have political and ideological aims, for example decolonisation. Bandia (2006: 359) argues that when such texts are translated into another European language, translating may

subvert the subversive text, undoing the decolonizing work done by the author, and recolonizing the Euro-African text, given the imperialistic nature of language itself. In other words, although the Euro-African text can subvert the dominance of Western colonial discourse over African traditional discourse, its translation into another European language can undo that subversion through the structures of dominance embedded in the language”

To counter such recolonising tendencies, Bandia (2006: 359) proposes “a poetics of translation that will respect the African writer’s subversive intentions whether it has to do with the writer’s use of innovative formalism or the demands made on the reader by the metatext of culture”. Similarly, according to Woodham (2007: 193), “the most appropriate translation approaches [for linguistic innovation] are those that recreate the linguistically innovative elements of the source text [. . .] with the aim of achieving equivalence of form, aesthetic effect and broader political/cultural meaning.”

Finnish translators of anglophone West African novels seem to have conformed to these demands in the texts published before 1989, as they usually transfer borrowings directly and reproduce faithfully many nonstandard elements present in the source texts. The connection between linguistic form and its effect on potential readers, however, is not that straightforward. As Nord argues:

We might believe that if the source text has an innovative effect because it deviates from the standards prevailing in the source-cultural literary system, the target text

can only achieve an equivalent effect when it deviates to the same extent from the standards of the target-cultural literary system. Obviously, this equivalence will not be achieved through a faithful reproduction of the content and form of the original, except in the rare cases where source and target cultures have literatures that have developed more or less identically. More to the point, the effects the same text can have on various readers are so different that we can hardly speak of *the* effect of the original, even within one culture or language area. (1997: 91; italics in the original)

Batchelor (2009; née Woodham) revises her previous views along these lines when she argues that “attributing such subversive or decolonizing meaning to hybrid texts can only ever represent one of many possible readings of a text’s significance, and often says as much about the stance of the reader as it does about the qualities of the text itself” (2009: 259). Robinson (1997) similarly argues that foreignising and domesticating translations do not differ that much from each other in their effects on target readers. He does not agree with the claim put forward by advocates of foreignisation that only a foreignising translation will “rouse ‘the’ target-language reader to critical thought and a new appreciation for cultural difference” (Robinson 1997: 110). According to its proponents, foreignising translation would “(help to) decolonize the reader, undermine colonial hegemony and thus conduce to effective political and cultural action in the service of increased freedom from the colonial past” (1997: 110). Robinson points out that it is “impossibly reductive to assume that all assimilative translations will have a single type of negative effect on all readers, and that all foreignizing translations will have a single type of positive effect on all readers.” This is partly so, he continues, because it is sometimes even difficult to define precisely what is foreignising and what is domesticating in a certain situation. Sometimes a new coinage may strike “everyone present with the force of rightness and a new word is born” (Robinson 1997: 111). In a similar vein, Venuti (1995b: 20) claims that “[t]he ‘foreign’ in foreignizing translation is not a transparent representation of an essence that resides in the foreign text and is valuable in itself, but a strategic construction whose value is contingent on the current target-language situation”. Consequently, the difference of the source text may become manifested only through “disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the target language” (Venuti 1995b: 20). This can be taken to mean nonconformity to the norms prevalent in the target culture.

Difficult as it is to define the characteristics of an ethical translation practice, certain principles seem to be valid in the translation of postcolonial texts. For example, Bandia’s



(1993: 57) statement that “the translator should strive to avoid exacerbating tensions created by past historical events (colonialism), by ensuring that no ‘negative stereotyping’ due to ignorance of the source culture occurs in the translation” is one among these. It is debatable whether the Finnish translations of anglophone West African novels, at least the ones published before 1989, can be seen to fulfil this requirement. As argued by Nord (1997: 91) above, “a faithful reproduction of the content and form of the original” is not a guarantee that the function of the source text is maintained, be it decolonisation or an attempt to change the representation of Africa prevalent in the West. A general aim of ethical translation could be “a genuinely informed respect for others” (Appiah 2000: 427), or “to improve intercultural relations” (Pym 1992: 169).

In addition to accountability norms, the translation process is affected by communication norms (Chesterman 1997: 69; see section 4.1). These norms draw on the conception of the translator as a crosscultural mediator who strives to enhance communication between different parties in the translation event. Newmark claims that: “if the SL [source language] text is entirely bound up with the culture of the SL [source language] community — a novel or a historical piece or a description attempting to characterize a place or custom or local character — the translator has to decide whether or not the reader requires, or is entitled to, supplementary information and explanation” (1982: 21). Similar prescriptive statements about the need to explain unfamiliar elements in the source and target texts abound in literature about translation. For example, Florin (1993: 127) argues that “[r]ealia that are alien to the source language tend to stand out and the author of the original has to explain them to the reader in some way”, and that “[t]ranslators translate for their readers and no communication has been established if readers fail to understand the realia that have been transcribed”.

Supplementary information and added explanations are connected to the expectations and background knowledge of intended readers of both source and target texts, and also to the function of the source text. Authors of postcolonial texts may want to write texts that resist easy communication for a variety of reasons. One such reason was discussed in section 4.2 where Robinson (1997) claimed in connection with Niranjana’s (1992: 155) preference for translations that are “holding back from communicating” that she obviously wants to oppose hegemonic practices of translation. These practices aim at “eradicating cultural differences and creating a buffer zone of assimilated ‘sameness’ around [members of hegemonic cultures, who] are therefore never exposed to true

difference, for they are strategically protected from the disturbing experience of the foreign” (Robinson 1997:109). Postcolonial authors may similarly want to expose Western readers to the realities of their home countries by avoiding assimilative or domesticating texts. As Ashcroft et al (1991: 66) point out, “the choice of leaving words untranslated in post-colonial texts is a political act, because while translation is not inadmissible in itself, glossing gives the translated word, and thus the ‘receptor’ culture, the higher status”.

When postcolonial texts are translated, the general expectation is that the translator adjusts the information load of the target text to such a level that target readers would not dismiss the text as incomprehensible and uninteresting. Tymoczko (2007: 258), however, claims that “translators often compromise cultural translation much more than they need to [ . . . ] They are also often more timid in their representations than is required, undertaking less cultural transfer than they might and underestimating the ability of their audiences to tolerate, learn from, and engage with cultural difference and newness”. But, as Gambier (2010: 415) points out, it is also possible that “[a] feature of a given source text (e.g., a pun, a toponym) might not pose a difficulty to a translator, but the chosen solution might become problematic at reception”.

As Africa is still considered to be a distant and strange continent, some translation strategies can be expected to result in target texts that are not easily understood by the majority of Finnish readers. One such case could be the Finnish translation of the Kenyan novel, *A Grain of Wheat* (1967) by James Ngugi, which was studied by Joel Kontinen in his Master’s thesis (1992). Kontinen focused on the transfer of Kenyan and Kikuyu cultural features into the Finnish translation, *Nisun jyvä* (1972), and in an article (Kontinen 1993: 2) published in a translators’ journal he criticised the translator, Seppo Lopenen, for not having explained anything of the cultural features beyond what was expressed in the source text. Lopenen (1993), who is a prolific translator of African and other literature (and the translator of *Pirstaleita* [1971], *Mistä meille tämä armo* [1979] and *Vaarallista rakkautta* [1996] in the present study), defended his translation strategies by claiming that it is customary in the translation of novels that unknown words and phrases in italics are transferred to the target texts unchanged and without any explanations: “kursivoidut kummajaiset jätetään silleen, niitä ei selitellä” (1993: 6). It needs to be added that the publisher published a second edition of *Nisun jyvä* in 1981, which indicates that the text sold fairly well in Finland in spite of its strange cultural content.

It can be speculated whether it really is customary in the translation of novels in Finland that unknown words are transferred to the target texts without any explanations, or whether it is an idiosyncrasy, reflecting the views of one or a few translators only. Based on the findings in the present study, it seems that such a norm has really existed in Finland for a time, at least in the translation of anglophone West African texts, since texts in my material translated before 1989 do not usually contain explanations or approximate dictionary equivalents regarding the translating of borrowings. An exception to this regular pattern is the African word *juju*, which, as was explained in subsection 5.1.1, is a word in Finnish as well and has a different meaning in this language. *Juju* has been rendered, for example, as *loitsu* ‘spell’ and *taikakalu* ‘magical object’, obviously because transferring it to the target texts could have resulted in a change of denotation. Other borrowings (and even *juju* in *Kansan mies* [1969]) have been transferred fairly uniformly in the older target texts, up to the publication of *Nnu Egon tarina* in 1989.

One explanation for this foreignising translation practice could be a preference for a translation strategy which Lévy (1989 [1967]: 48) calls *minimax strategy* and which leads to the choosing of “that one of the possible [translation] solutions which promises a maximum of effect with a minimum of effort”. In the translation of anglophone West African novels into Finnish, it may however be that this strategy has been followed only halfway, as the side of “maximum of effect” seems to have been neglected. This practice of transferring borrowings to the target texts without explanations is understandable, as searching for information about these terms and their meanings is time-consuming, and was especially so before the advent of the Internet. In addition, as was pointed out above, incomprehensible features in postcolonial texts are not necessarily “unmeaningful; the use of opaque foreign words can be part of a deliberate artistic strategy” (Dasenbrock 1987: 15). Such features may be used, for example, to question our established cultural categories rather than to reinforce them through transparent texts. Dasenbrock (1987: 11-12) even argues that it is “up to the reader, not the author, to do the work necessary to make the literature intelligible”.

Even though *Nisun jyvä* managed to secure a readership in Finland, the older novels in my material have not usually been equally successful, as no new editions have been printed of them (Adichie’s two novels have been reprinted as paperbacks). Tervonen (2007: 235) even reports that among the few hundred titles published in the prestigious series of translated literature, Keltainen Kirjasto, the Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka’s

novels (among them *Laittomuuden kausi* [1976] and *Tulkit* [1980]) have had the lowest sales figures of all. A translation solution to the problem of unfamiliar cultural material that seems to be at the opposite end from the one advocated for example by Loponen (and the one obviously preferred by Kontinen) is a method that Appiah (2000) calls "thick translation". This procedure consists of explaining all cultural details in annotations and glossaries, in order to improve the understanding of the cultural features of the source text. Such texts, however, may require too much effort from target readers, and they may also be considered too academic to sell well.

In my Master's thesis (Lindfors 2001b), I recommended some kind of a middle way for the translation of African texts into Finnish between strategies that are too foreignising and those that are too domesticating. The reasoning behind my recommendation was that I expected such a strategy to result in target texts that would at the same time be accepted by the intended readers and retain and project an ethical image of the source culture to the target audience. It seems that the two novels by Adichie in my material, *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* (2009) and *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus* (2010), have been translated following such a translation practice. *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* has so far been the most successful anglophone West African novel in Finland commercially, as it rose to the number one position in the sales chart soon after its publication in Finland in the spring of 2009. The success of this text probably prompted the publishing house to continue publishing works by Adichie: her first novel, *Purple Hibiscus* (2003) was published in Finland in 2010 (*Purppuranpunainen hibiskus*), a collection of short stories, *The Thing around Your Neck* (2009) in 2011 (*Huominen on liian kaukana*), and her third novel, *Americanah* (2013) in 2013 (*Kotiinpalaajat*). It can even be speculated that Adichie's success in Finland has contributed to the publication of Achebe's classic novel *Things Fall Apart* (1958) in Finnish translation in 2014 (*Kaikki hajoaa*).

Concerning relation norms (Chesterman 1997: 69; see section 4.1), which demand that translators establish relations of relevant similarity between the source and target texts, it can be claimed that in the material of this study the relations between the texts have sometimes been even too close. The results of the qualitative and quantitative analyses above show that the strategies employed in the translation of anglophone West African novels into Finnish have been mainly foreignising, as many of the linguistic and cultural features of the original works are preserved in the target texts. The translators' concept of translation can be claimed to have been maximum fidelity to the source texts,

at least before 1989. Such a concept in connection with African literature is likely to yield target texts that are strange or exotic to target readers, as was discussed above in connection with Soyinka's lack of success in Finland (Tervonen 2007: 235). Even though strangeness is considered by newspaper reviewers to guarantee an authentic African point of view, too many unfamiliar elements in a literary work may prevent readers from entering into the emotions of the fictional characters. As Venuti (1998: 84) wonders: "Can a translator maintain a critical distance from domestic norms without dooming a translation to be dismissed as unreadable?" It seems that such a distance should not be very long, as novels that do not elicit an emotional response from readers are easily rejected as uninteresting, which would then perpetuate the marginal position of African literature in Finland. Adichie's texts in Finnish translation are a good example in proving that popularity can be achieved when reader expectations about clarity and fluency are taken into consideration.

An important local translation problem in the present study has been borrowings from African languages. A special case in the translation of borrowings, according to Chesterman (1997: 95), is a strategy which Pym (1992: 76) has called "double presentation". This means that both the source and the target terms are included in the target text, so that the target term is a gloss, explaining the meaning of the source-text item (West African authors also use this technique; see cushioning in subsection 3.3.1). Chesterman, citing Pym (1992: 76), claims that the reason for retaining the source-language word is that it is held in higher esteem by the target audience than the target word. However, in postcolonial translation, as argued by Woodham (2007: 86), this strategy (i.e. adding a gloss to an African-language borrowing) increases the visibility of the source-language item and changes the source cultural situation where the author may have wanted to present the indigenous and the metropolitan languages as equals: "Altering the mode of clarity chosen by the author can be argued to obscure the deliberate heterogeneity of the text and to weaken its signifying power as an entity". Double presentation domesticates the target text and may confirm the belief that a word in an indigenous language cannot be understood without an explanation. These are valid points that need to be taken into consideration when the Finnish translations of Adichie's texts are evaluated, as the translators of *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* (2009) and especially *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus* (2010) have frequently resorted to this translation strategy.

The translators of the other ten novels (except maybe *Nnu Egon tarina* [1989]) seem

to have relied mostly on transference and sometimes also word-level dictionary equivalents when dealing with borrowings, which strategies seem to constitute the norm of equivalence for these translators. The concept of translation of these translators can therefore be claimed to be maximum fidelity to the source text, which could be seen to yield target texts that fulfil the condition Venuti (1998: 87) demands of an ethical translation project, in that it should deviate from the target-culture norms to show the foreign origin of the source text. The goal of such translation projects, according to Venuti, is "resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism, in the interests of democratic geopolitical relations" (1995b: 20). It can be questioned, however, whether these ethical goals can be attained by target texts that are foreignising and perpetuate the image of Africa as a distant and strange continent.

Even though it is difficult to determine the effects of unexplained borrowings on target readers, as other features of the target text contribute to the evaluation of it as well, it can be speculated that the strange cultural content of *Efuru* (1989) with its dozens of borrowings that were transferred directly from the source text was partly responsible for a reviewer's description of it as an awkward and naïve account of an African woman's life: "Teoksen kömpelyys, läpinäkyvä didaktinen suoruus saattaa olla seurausta kielijärjestelmien yhteensopimattomuudesta. Afrikkalaisen naisen kokemus näyttäytyy näin esitettynä hämmentävän yksioikoisena" (Vartiainen 1990) [The clumsiness and transparent didactic directness of the work may result from the incompatibility of the different language systems. Represented in this fashion, the experience of an African woman seems astonishingly plain and simple; my translation].

In spite of Adichie's success in Finland, African literature does not have any prominent position among translated works in this country, as Anglo-American books dominate the literary market. The number of titles by African writers is small, and the publication of an African novel in Finland does not cause much excitement among the reading audience. Belles-lettres, however, are one of the few channels available to get at least a glimpse of everyday African reality beyond the ubiquitous news about famine and wars. As literary works are influential in the formation of national identities for foreign cultures, it is important to translate African literature in such a way that the target text portrays an ethical image of the source culture. As was noted above, Africa is considered to be a distant and strange continent, and African literature translated with strategies that are foreignising may perpetuate such an image. Foreignising translation projects may even result in the rejection of the target texts by Finnish readers, who can

consider such texts too difficult to read and understand. Domestication is not an unproblematic solution either. As Venuti (1998: 12) points out, a fluent translation “reinforces the [target] language and its many other linguistic and cultural exclusions while masking the inscription of domestic values. Fluency is assimilationist, presenting to domestic readers a realistic representation inflected with their own codes and ideologies as if it were an immediate encounter with a foreign text and culture”.

It can be speculated that the reasons for the domesticating translatorial decisions observed in sections 5.1 and 5.2, especially in Tables 2 (*Palmuviiniujuoppo* 1963), 8 (*Nnu Egon tarina* 1989), 12 (*Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* 2009) and 13 (*Purppuranpunainen hibiskus* 2010), include a desire to make the target texts more comprehensible and fluent for target readers, and possibly also a lack of awareness concerning the intentions the authors may have had in mind when they used africanised English in their literary texts. For example, the change of a character’s pidgin in the source text to a standard variety in the target text (example 71; *Nnu Egon tarina* 1989) may have been informed by respect for the source text and the culture it portrays: the translator did not want any “negative stereotyping” (Bandia 1993: 57) to be present in the target text. Yet this translatorial decision changes the characterisation of the fictional characters and the relations between them and decreases the level of hybridity in the target text.

Another reason for the employment of domesticating translation strategies may be that the translators knew that they would be blamed for any oddities in the target texts, because most readers would not be aware of what the source texts are like. Consequently, readers would not know that translators who employ foreignising translation strategies may only be reproducing elements of africanised English present in the source texts, thus trying to retain the African flavour and postcolonial discourse of these texts. For example, one reviewer of *Palmuviiniujuoppo* (1963) writes that even without comparison to the source text, it can be claimed that *Palmuviiniujuoppo* is a poor-quality translation: it contains strange and clumsy sentences, up to the point that the text sometimes becomes incomprehensible (Siltanen 1963: 7).

It could be noted in this connection that *Palmuviiniujuoppo* has continued to receive both negative and positive criticism in Finland even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. When Vettenniemi (2004) reviews *Ilon ja kivun kääntöpiiri* edited by Otonkoski (2004), he refers to an earlier anthology of African writing in Finnish, *Afrikka kertoo* compiled by Wästberg (1962), and observes that the inclusion of Tutuola into a short-story collection of the 21<sup>st</sup> century does not improve its quality in any way: “Sen kirjoittajista on yhä

mukana kansantaruja työstänyt **Amos Tutuola**, mikä ei merkitse laadullista lisäarvoa 2000-luvun kokoelmalle” (2004: 7; emphasis in the original). In a review on Adichie’s *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* (2009), Virtanen (2009), in a more positive tone, comments that among the Nigerian writers who have novels in Finnish translation, Tutuola is closest to oral tradition: “Hän on sekä primitiivisempi että modernimpi kuin Adichie; ilmestyessään suomeksi 1960-luvun puolivälissä Tutuolan *Palmuviinijuoppo* rinnastui herkullisella tavalla **Picasson** afrikkalaisista rituaalinaamioista vaikutteita saaneeseen maalaustaiteeseen” (2009: 69; emphasis in the original) [He is at the same time more primitive and more modern than Adichie; when Tutuola’s *Palm-Wine Drinkard* appeared in Finnish translation in mid-1960s, it could be compared in a fruitful fashion to **Picasso’s** paintings that were influenced by African ritual masks; my translation].

The results of the analysis in the present study suggest that the degree of domestication is on the increase in the translation of anglophone West African literature into Finnish. This trend is somewhat surprising, as it could be expected that with globalisation and increased familiarity with other cultures, the Finnish readership would be more tolerant towards linguistic and cultural difference. The translator of *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa* (2009), Sari Karhulahti, has said in an interview on her retranslation of the classic girls’ novel *Pikku naisia* (2004) (*Little Women* [1869] by Louisa M. Alcott) that she did not need to translate *limes* as *karamellit* ‘candies’ as the earlier Finnish translator had done but could use the relatively new word in Finnish, *limetit*, because nowadays Finns know much more about foreign cultures than before (Lehtinen 2004). Yet in the translation of *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa*, she does not rely much on the knowledge and tolerance of Finnish readers concerning foreign words and concepts, as she explains many unfamiliar terms inside the text.

It might be interesting to study how Karhulahti translates other postcolonial novels (for example, by the Zimbabwean NoViolet Bulawayo and the Bangladeshi Monica Ali), and whether there are discernible differences, on the one hand, between the translation strategies employed for West African and other postcolonial texts, and on the other hand, between the translation strategies employed for postcolonial texts and Anglo-American texts. Similar comparisons could be extended to many other translators of anglophone West African novels, as most of them have translated many other postcolonial and Anglo-American novels as well (especially Seppo Lojonen and Kristiina Drews). The methodology for such studies could make use of, for example, that developed by Pekkanen (2010) for the analysis of a translator’s own “voice” or “finger-print” visible



in the target texts independently of the characteristics of the source texts. Such research might prove fruitful in illuminating the relative importance of the properties (and status) of the source texts and the translators' individual preferences for the occurrence of certain types of translatorial solutions observable in the target texts.

As anglophone West African novels are hybrid texts, composed of more than one language, their translation into another language is often considered a special case in translation studies which translation theories developed in the West cannot fully cover. As Bandia (2008: 5) points out, "[t]he peculiarity of such postcolonial writing indeed confounds some basic tenets of traditional translation theory which relies on stable dualisms or binary oppositions between homogenous linguistic entities". Tervonen (1997: 66-67) stresses the hierarchical relationships and inequality between the languages that are the components of a hybrid, multilingual African text. In order to take these issues into account, approaches to postcolonial translation could be employed in the study of the translation of African literature. Postcolonial translation studies rely heavily on postcolonial (literary) studies for theory and methodologies, as traditional practices in translation studies are considered inadequate for dealing with postcolonial multilingual and multicultural texts. Such texts, which are claimed to be "highly resistant to the kinds of binary oppositions that are characteristic of translation criticism" (Bandia 2006: 359) could be investigated, according to Bandia, with methods drawing on postmodern philosophy. This philosophy has arguably "helped in establishing ethical guidelines for translating postcolonial discourse and has informed ethical questions dealing with the theory and practice of minority translations" (Bandia 2006: 349).

In spite of the views presented above by Bandia (2006, 2008), I wanted to study the novels that formed my material using a methodology that would not rely much on postcolonial or postmodern theories. I decided to use a method developed within descriptive translation studies (Toury 1995) and widely used in translation research, because the results in previous studies that employ postcolonial approaches to translation, for example by Bandia (2008) and Batchelor (2009), do not seem to provide concrete findings, which were my aim. The method I employed, with its extracting of coupled pairs, searching for regular patterns, and with the aim of establishing the translators' concept of translation which would make it possible to speculate on norms, seemed to me to be a more efficient way of analysing the novels than the methods informed by postmodernism.

The reliance on binaries, such as source and target text, and foreignisation and

domestication, would probably be criticised by proponents of postcolonial translation studies, as their argument is that multilingual source texts and their translation cannot be studied with methods and concepts that assume “linguistic or cultural transfer between stable monolithic or homogenous entities” (Bandia 2008: 6). Tervonen (1997: 69) claims that as the origin of the different components (African and European) in a hybrid source text cannot usually be determined, such texts would need a specific research approach. Yet the results of the present study show that it is possible to study postcolonial hybrid texts with the help of coupled pairs and the terms foreignisation and domestication. My employment of these terms was not, however, the traditional binary one (as in, for example, Venuti 1995b), as I took them to be not opposites but the end poles on a scale where different degrees of foreignisation and domestication detected would situate the target texts on different positions along this scale. The target text would either take the reader more or less towards the writer (more or less foreignised text), or the writer would be taken towards the reader, for example only slightly or almost entirely (more or less domesticated text). Note that for Venuti (1995b, 1998), foreignising translation means creating deviations on the target language independently of the linguistic properties of the source text to alert target readers to the fact that they are reading a translation, which practice I would consider somewhat unethical in the translation of anglophone West African novels.

The present study offers new information on the translation of African literature into Finnish, as it centres on the textual-linguistic properties of the source and target texts. In addition, it investigates the cultural situation where the target texts enter Finland. The translation of African literature in Finland has been studied earlier by Tervonen (1997, 2007), but her focus was on the choice and reception of such literature in Finland, not on the linguistic and cultural details of the source and target texts. There are not many studies conducted on africanised euromphone language and its translation in other countries either. Batchelor (2009) has studied linguistic innovation in francophone African literature and its translation into English, and Bandia (2008) discusses euromphone African literature and its translation into some other European languages. Bandia’s focus, however, is mainly on the writing of African texts in European languages conceived as translation, and less on the translation of these texts into other languages. The results obtained by Batchelor (2009: 259) contradict mine to a certain degree, as she concludes that in most of the English-language target texts that she studied, the innovative elements of the francophone source texts had either been diluted

or eliminated.

The results of the present study show that the Finnish translators of anglophone West African novels retain most of the africanised elements in the source texts, which partly refutes my hypothesis that the target texts would contain less hybridity than the source texts. As for the possible changes of norms that govern the translation of this type of literature in Finland, I could not discover any such changes. Instead, my study shows that comprehensible and fluent target texts have mostly been preferred at least during the past 50 years. The differences between the novels in my material regarding the amount of hybridity retained could rather be explained through the translators' different degrees of conforming to the requirements of the target norms. It seems that before 1989, the Finnish translators of anglophone West African novels did not follow the norms requiring comprehensibility and fluency prevalent in Finnish literary translation as closely as they do in more recent times.

## 6. Conclusion

The present study investigated the translation of anglophone West African novels into Finnish. This type of literature often contains linguistic and cultural elements which can be called africanised English and which, in addition to providing local colour in the texts, may also have political and ideological functions. It was to be expected that africanised English, which includes borrowed words from African languages, nonstandard language varieties, and cultural features unfamiliar to Western readers, among others, would pose problems for translators. The material of the study consisted of twelve texts, nine from Nigeria and three from Ghana, and their translations into Finnish. The selected novels were written by nine authors, translated by nine different translators, and published in Finland during the period ranging from 1963 to 2010.

The investigation of the selected novels addressed the following question: Do translators retain the hybridity present in the source texts, or do they neutralise the postcolonial discourse or even translate it with strategies that “recolonise” the texts that may have aimed at decolonisation? My hypothesis was that africanised English in West African novels would be normalised at least to a certain degree in the target texts, as there are no corresponding language varieties in Finnish, and because normalisation of linguistic and cultural difference is a general trend in translation practice. I first studied what kinds of authorial techniques anglophone West African writers have used to africanise their texts. Common techniques in the source texts include borrowings from African languages, literal translation from a writer’s mother tongue, neologisms, and the use of pidgin. The twelve source and target texts were then analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. My method was largely that developed within descriptive translation studies, where excerpts from the source and target texts are extracted and the translation relationships between them are described. The discovery of general patterns of translation relationships makes it possible to establish the norm of translation equivalence and the concept of translation that have directed the work of the translator in question.

This study shows that it is possible to investigate hybrid postcolonial texts with the help of binary terms, such as a coupled pair of translation solution and source problem, and foreignisation and domestication, i.e. using a methodology that is sometimes considered suitable for the study of translation between Western texts only. My decision

to employ a method developed within descriptive translation studies was partly based on the assumption that the study of postcolonial texts would not require any special method, as many other source texts contain hybridity as well, for example, such marked elements as loan words, unfamiliar realia and linguistic variation. Consistent use of methodology would allow comparisons to be made between different types of literary source and target texts. Methodology informed by postmodern philosophy could also be applied to material similar to mine to see whether methods and concepts that are claimed by postcolonial translation theorists to be more suitable for the study of postcolonial texts would yield different results. Further research on the translation of anglophone and also francophone and lusophone African and other postcolonial texts using the methodology employed in the present study could also be attempted to see what effects different source languages and cultures may have on translation practice. Even though postcolonial methodology was not used in the analysis of the twelve selected novels and their translations, the postcolonial context of the source texts was nevertheless taken into consideration. For example, in chapter 2 I presented examples of traditional colonialist discourse in Finland and studied the target-culture situation which the Finnish translations of the twelve anglophone West African novels entered.

The analysis of the twelve selected novels and their translations has two main sections: the qualitative and the quantitative analyses. The combination of these analyses was fruitful in the collection of information on the translation strategies used for hybrid, africanised elements in the texts under study. The qualitative analysis covered the entire texts while the quantitative analysis centred on the first 30 pages of each novel and its translation. The decision to complement the qualitative analysis with the quantitative one was based on the observation that the qualitative analysis alone would not have provided enough detailed information on the translation strategies employed by the Finnish translators and on the frequency of the strategies in different texts. The qualitative analysis gave good indications about the repertoire of strategies the translators had at their disposal, but the comparison of the texts for the purposes of detecting, for example, regular patterns in the translatorial behaviour which could point towards the existence of norms and their changes with time would not have been easy. The results of the quantitative analysis were not readily interpretable either, as the figures obtained did not show much difference between the texts studied with respect to the degree of retention or replacement of hybrid elements. Yet when different translation strategies (especially addition of explanation) were taken into account, and when the

quantitative results were complemented by the findings from the qualitative analysis, discernible differences between the texts started to emerge. The older texts translated before 1989 relied on fairly foreignising translation strategies, while texts published since 1989 gradually start to exhibit more and more domesticating features, for example, addition of explanations to borrowings, the replacement of borrowings by their approximate dictionary equivalents, and the translation of pidgin by standard Finnish or by some less marked target variety than “Tarzanese”. In future studies, the categorisation of the translation strategies may need reconsideration to better elicit the differences between the texts for observation.

The present study widens the scope of investigation from the choice and reception of translated anglophone West African novels in Finland, as it centres on the textual-linguistic level of translating this type of literature. The study also sheds light on the contextual factors that may have affected the production of both the source and target texts. There are still, however, many aspects that need further research in the field of translating African literature into Finnish. For example, it has not yet been studied what general readers of prose narratives in Finland expect from African novels, and how this type of literature is perceived and received among them. Such a study might shed new light on the expectation norms which presumably govern the translation of African literature in Finland. Similarly, interviews of translators of anglophone West African novels could reveal how they see their translating work. Do they aim at producing comprehensible and domesticating translations, thus following the norm of fluency prevalent in the translation of literature in Finland? Or do they consider West African literature a special case, requiring a different approach to translation – possibly because of the wide cultural and conceptual differences between the source and target cultures?

Translation norms proved to be a valuable concept through which the results of the analysis could be explained to a certain degree. Yet many questions still remain to be answered, for example, what the translators’ motivation is when they produce foreignising texts which do not conform to target norms, and why domestication has gradually become more widespread in the translation of anglophone West African novels in Finland. Social sciences could provide new insights into the study of translation of African literature in Finland, and the concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu) in the place of norms could provide new perspectives to this subject. As was noted above, one line of study could compare translated postcolonial and Anglo-American literary texts to see whether a translator’s “voice” or “fingerprint” could be detected in those texts,

and whether it would be different in the translation of postcolonial and other texts.

One important question emerged in the study which could not be answered as yet: Is it better to try to be ethical in the translation of West African novels and retain postcolonial discourse, possibly thereby dooming the target text to be considered difficult and even incomprehensible by target readers? Or would it be better to try to conform to target norms and produce texts that may become best-sellers, thus increasing interest in Africa and spreading knowledge about life on that continent, even if this might take place in diluted form, possibly sometimes even confirming traditional representations of Africa? In either case, it remains to be seen whether the interest in anglophone West African novels in Finland is a transient phenomenon, or whether this type of literature will secure a permanent position in the Finnish literary market which would then provide a steady supply of material for future research projects in this field.

## References

### Primary Sources

- Achebe, Chinua. 1966. *A Man of the People*. London: Heinemann.
- Achebe, Chinua. 1969. *Kansan mies*. Finnish translation by Eila Pennanen. Porvoo/Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.
- Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2004 (2003). *Purple Hibiscus*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2010. *Purppuranpunainen hibiskus*. Finnish translation by Kristiina Savikurki. Helsinki: Otava.
- Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2007 (2006). *Half of a Yellow Sun*. London: Harper Perennial.
- Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2009. *Puolikas keltaista aurinkoa*. Finnish translation by Sari Karhulahti. Helsinki: Otava.
- Aidoo, Ama Ata. 1994 (1991). *Changes: A Love Story*. London: The Women's Press.
- Aidoo, Ama Ata. 2002. *Muutoksia — eräs rakkaustarina*. Finnish translation by Terhi Kuusisto. Helsinki: Kääntöpiiri.
- Armah, Ayi Kwei. 1979 (1969). *Fragments*. London: Heinemann.
- Armah, Ayi Kwei. 1971. *Pirstaleita*. Finnish translation by Seppo Lojonen. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Armah, Ayi Kwei. 1974 (1972). *Why Are We so Blest?* London/Ibadan/Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Armah, Ayi Kwei. 1979. *Mistä meille tämä armo*. Finnish translation by Seppo Lojonen. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Emecheta, Buchi. 1988 (1979). *The Joys of Motherhood*. London: Heinemann.
- Emecheta, Buchi. 1989. *Nnu Egon tarina*. Finnish translation by Kristiina Drews. Helsinki: Kääntöpiiri.
- Nwapa, Flora. 1975 (1966). *Efuru*. London/Ibadan/Nairobi/Lusaka: Heinemann.
- Nwapa, Flora. 1989. *Efuru*. Finnish translation by Paula Herranen. Helsinki: Art House.
- Okri, Ben. 1997 (1996). *Dangerous Love*. London: Phoenix.
- Okri, Ben. 1996. *Vaarallista rakkautta*. Finnish translation by Seppo Lojonen. Helsinki: Otava.
- Soyinka, Wole. 1976 (1965). *The Interpreters*. With introduction and notes by Eldred Jones. London: Heinemann.
- Soyinka, Wole. 1980. *Tulkit*. Finnish translation by Risto Lehmusoksa. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Soyinka, Wole. 1988 (1973). *Season of Anomy*. London: Arena.
- Soyinka, Wole. 1976. *Laittomuuden kausi*. Finnish translation by Risto Lehmusoksa. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Tutuola, Amos. 1977 (1952). *The Palm-Wine Drinkard and his dead Palm-Wine Tapster in the Deads' Town*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Tutuola, Amos. 1963. *Palmuviinijuoppo ja hänen kuollut palmuviininlaskijansa kuolleiden kylässä*. Finnish translation by Reijo Tuomi. Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä.



## Secondary Sources

- Achebe, Chinua. 1982 (1958). *Things Fall Apart*. London/Ibadan/Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Achebe, Chinua. 1976 (1960). *No Longer at Ease*. London /Ibadan/Nairobi/Lusaka: Heinemann.
- Achebe, Chinua. 1973. "The Role of the Writer in a New Nation." In Killam, G. D. (ed.). 7-13.
- Achebe, Chinua. 1975. *Morning Yet on Creation Day: Essays*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.
- Achebe, Chinua. 1988. *Hopes and Impediments: Selected Essays 1965 -1987*. Oxford: Heinemann.
- Achebe, Chinua. 2000. *Home and Exile*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Achebe, Chinua. 2014. *Kaikki hajoaa*. Finnish translation by Heikki Salojärvi. Helsinki: Basam Books.
- Adejunmobi, Moradewum. 1998. "Translation and Postcolonial Identity: African Writing and European Languages." In Venuti, Lawrence (ed.). 1998. *Translation and Minority*. Special issue of *The Translator* 4: 2. 163-181.
- Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2009. *The Thing around Your Neck*. London: Fourth Estate.
- Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2011. *Huominen on liian kaukana*. Finnish translation by Sari Karhulahti. Helsinki: Otava.
- Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2013. *Americanah*. London: Fourth Estate.
- Adichie, Chimamanda Ngozi. 2013. *Kotiinpalaajat*. Finnish translation by Hanna Tarkka. Helsinki: Otava.
- Afolayan, A. 1975. "Language and Sources of Amos Tutuola." In Lindfors, Bernth (ed.). 193-208.
- Amadi, Elechi. 1966. *The Concubine*. Oxford: Heinemann.
- Amuta, Chidi. 1988. "From Myth to Ideology: The Socio-Political Content of Soyinka's War Writings." *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 23: 1. 116-129.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2000. "Thick Translation." In Venuti, Lawrence (ed.). 2000. 417-429.
- Armstrong, Robert P. 1975. "The Narrative and Intensive Continuity: *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*." In Lindfors, Bernth (ed.). 209-235.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin. 1991 (1989). *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin (eds.). 1999a (1995). *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin. 1999b. "General Introduction." In Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin (eds.). 1-4.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin. 1999c. "Introduction." In Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin (eds.). 7-11.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin. 1999d. "Introduction." In Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin (eds.). 85-86.
- Awoonor, Kofi. 1975. *The Breast of the Earth: A Survey of the History, Culture, and Literature of Africa South of the Sahara*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press /Doubleday.
- Azodo, Ada Uzoamaka. 2008. "Interview with Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie: Creative

- Writing and Literary Activism.” Online article available at "[http://www.iun.edu/~minaua/interviews/interview\\_chimamanda\\_ngozi\\_adichie.pdf](http://www.iun.edu/~minaua/interviews/interview_chimamanda_ngozi_adichie.pdf). Accessed on 16 February 2010.
- Bamiro, Edmund. 1997. "Lexical Innovation in Ghanaian English: Some Examples from Recent Fiction." *American Speech* 72: 1. 105-112.
- Bamiro, Edmund. 2006. "Nativization Strategies: Nigerianisms at the Intersection of Ideology and Gender in Achebe's Fiction." *World Englishes* 25: 3-4. 315-328.
- Bandia, Paul F. 1993. "Translation as Culture Transfer: Evidence from African Creative Writing." *TTR* 6: 2. 55-78.
- Bandia, Paul. 2006. "African Europhone Literature and Writing as Translation. Some Ethical Issues." In Hermans, Theo (ed.). 2006. *Translating Others. Volume 2*. Manchester/Kinderhook: St. Jerome. 349-361.
- Bandia, Paul F. 2008. *Translation as Reparation: Writing and Translation in Postcolonial Africa*. Manchester/Kinderhook, NY: St. Jerome.
- Bandia, Paul F. 2012. "Postcolonial Literary Heteroglossia: A Challenge for Homogenizing Translation." *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 20: 4. 419-431.
- Barber, Karin. 1995. "African-Language Literature and Postcolonial Criticism." *Research in African Literatures* 26: 4. 3-30.
- Bassnett, Susan & Harish Trivedi (eds.). 1999. *Post-Colonial Translation: Theory & Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Bassnett, Susan & Harish Trivedi. 1999. "Introduction: Of Colonies, Cannibals and Vernaculars". In Bassnett, Susan & Harish Trivedi (eds.). 1-18.
- Batchelor, Kathryn. 2009. *Decolonizing Translation: Francophone African Novels in English Translation*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1989 (1923). "The Task of the Translator." In Chesterman, Andrew (ed.). 13-24.
- Bhabha, Homi. 1998 (1994). *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Booker, M. Keith. 1998. *The African Novel in English: An Introduction*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cary, Joyce. 1961 (1939). *Mister Johnson*. London: Michael Joseph.
- Catford, J. C. 1980 (1965). *A Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Essay in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford/London/Glasgow: Oxford University Press.
- Chesterman, Andrew. 1993. "From 'Is' to 'Ought': Laws, Norms and Strategies in Translation Studies." *Target* 5: 1. 1-20.
- Chesterman, Andrew (ed.). 1989. *Readings in Translation Theory*. Helsinki: Finn Lectura.
- Chesterman, Andrew. 1997. *Memes of Translation: The Spread of Ideas in Translation Theory*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin.
- Cheyfitz, Eric. 1991. *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Collins, Harold R. 1969. *Amos Tutuola*. New York: Twayne.
- Conrad, Joseph. 1983 (1910). *Heart of Darkness & The Secret Sharer*. New York/London: Penguin Books, Signet Classic.
- Conrad, Joseph. 2005 (1968). *Pimeyden sydän*. Finnish translation by Kristiina Kivivuori. Helsinki: Otava.
- Dako, Kari. 2001. "Ghanaianisms: Towards a Semantic and a Formal Classification." *English World-Wide* 22: 1. 23-53.

- Dako, Kari. 2002. "Code-Switching and Lexical Borrowing: Which Is What in Ghanaian English?" *English Today* 18: 3. 48-54.
- Dasenbrock, Reed Way. 1987. "Intelligibility and Meaningfulness in Multicultural Literature in English." *PMLA* 102: 1. 10-19.
- Defoe, Daniel. 1977 (1719). *Robinson Crusoe*. London/Melbourne/Toronto: Dent.
- Defoe, Daniel. 1962 (1905). *Robinson Crusoen elämä ja kummalliset seikkailut*. 5th edition. Finnish translation by Samuli S. Helsinki: Otava.
- Ekwensi, Cyprian. 1975 (1961). *Jagua Nana*. London: Heinemann.
- Emecheta, Buchi. 1986. *Head Above Water: An Autobiography*. London: Fontana.
- Emenyonu, Ernest N. 1988. "Technique and Language in Buchi Emecheta's *The Bride Price, The Slave Girl and The Joys of Motherhood*." *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 23: 1. 130-141.
- Englund Dimitrova, Birgitta. 2004. "Orality, Literacy, Reproduction of Discourse and the Translation of Dialect." In Helin, Irmeli (ed.). *Dialektübersetzung und Dialekte in Multimedia*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 121-139.
- Ferguson, Charles A. 1981. "Absence of Copula and the Notion of Simplicity: A Study of Normal Speech, Baby Talk, Foreigner Talk, and Pidgins." In Hymes, Dell H. (ed.). 141-150.
- Fleming, Waldo. 1948. *Rummut puhuvat*. Finnish translation by Matti Kilpeläinen. Porvoo/Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.
- Florin, Sider. 1993. "Realia in Translation." In Zlateva, Palma (ed.). 1993. *Translation as Social Action. Russian and Bulgarian Perspectives*. London: Routledge. 122-128.
- Fludernik, Monika. 2012. "The Narrative Forms of Postcolonial Fiction." In Quayson, Ato (ed.). 2012. *The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature. Volume 2*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 903-937.
- Forna, Aminatta. 2011 (2010). *The Memory of Love*. London : Bloomsbury.
- Forna, Aminatta. 2013. *Muisto rakkaudesta*. Finnish translation by Mirja Hovila. Helsinki: Into-Kustannus.
- Gambier, Yves. 2010. "Translation Strategies and Tactics." In Gambier, Yves & Luc van Doorslaer (eds.). 412-418.
- Gambier, Yves & Luc van Doorslaer (eds.). 2010. *Handbook of Translation Studies Vol. 1*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gérard, Albert S. 1981. *African Language Literatures: An Introduction to the Literary History of Sub-Saharan Africa*. Harlow: Longman.
- Gibbs, James (ed.). 1980. *Critical Perspectives on Wole Soyinka*. Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press.
- Gibbs, James. 1980. "Introduction." In Gibbs (ed.). 3-17.
- Gouanvic, Jean-Marc. 2005. "A Bourdieusian Theory of Translation, or the Coincidence of Practical Instances." English translation by Jessica Moore. *The Translator* 11: 2. 147-166.
- Granqvist, Raoul. 1990. *Travelling: Chinua Achebe in Scandinavia; Swedish Writers in Africa*. Umeå Papers in English 11. Umeå: Umeå University Press.
- Greene, Graham. 1974 (1961). *A Burnt-Out Case*. London: William Heineman & The Bodley Head.
- Greene, Graham. 1961. *Loppuun palanut*. Finnish translation by Eila Pennanen. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Gyasi, Kwaku A. 1999. "Writing as Translation: African Literature and the Challenges of Translation." *Research in African Literatures* 30: 2. 75-87.
- Hall, Stuart. 1992. "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power." In Hall, Stuart

- & Bram Gieben (eds.). 1992. *Formations of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 275-331.
- Hammond, Dorothy & Alta Jablow. 1992. *The Africa that Never Was*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.
- Harrison, Nicholas. 2003. *Postcolonial Criticism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hay, Denys. 1968. *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. 1956 (1892). *The Philosophy of History*. English translation by J. Sibree. New York: Dover Publications.
- Hermans, Theo. 1991. "Translational Norms and Correct Translations." In van Leuven-Zwart, Kitty & Ton Naaijken (eds.). 1991. *Translation Studies: The State of the Art*. Proceedings of the First James S. Holmes Symposium on Translation Studies. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 155-169.
- Hermans, Theo. 1999a. *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and System-Oriented Approaches*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Hermans, Theo. 1999b. "Translation and Normativity." In Schäffner, Christina (ed.). 1999. *Translation and Norms*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 50-71.
- Herodotus. 1921. *Books III and IV*. English translation by A. D. Godley. London: W. Heinemann.
- Hervey, Sándor & Jan Higgins. 1992. *Thinking Translation. A Course in Translation Method: French – English*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Hochschild, Adam. 1998. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Holm, John A. 1988. *Pidgins and Creoles. Vol 1: Theory and Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huggan, Graham. 2001. *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Hymes, Dell H. (ed.). 1981 (1971). *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of the West Indies Mona, Jamaica, April 1968. Cambridge/New York/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Hymes, Dell H. 1981. "Preface." In Hymes, Dell H. (ed.). 3-11.
- Igboanusi, Herbert. 2001. "Varieties of Nigerian English: Igbo English in Nigerian Literature." *Multilingua* 20: 4. 361-378.
- Iweala, Uzodinma. 2006 (2005). *Beasts of No Nation*. London: John Murray.
- Iweala, Uzodinma. 2007. *Ei kenenkään lapset*. Finnish translation by Tero Valkonen. Jyväskylä: Gummerus.
- James, Adeola. 1990. *In Their Own Voices: African Women Writers Talk*. London: James Currey.
- JanMohamed, Abdul R. 1999. "The Economy of Manichean Allegory." In Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin (eds.). 18-23.
- Jacquemond, Richard. 1992. "Translation and Cultural Hegemony: The Case of French-Arabic Translation." In Venuti, Lawrence (ed.). 1992. 139-158.
- Jones, Eldred. 1976. "Introduction." In Soyinka. *The Interpreters*. 1-6.
- Jääskeläinen, Riitta. 1993. "Investigating Translation Strategies." In Tirkkonen-Condit S. & J. Lafling (eds.). 1993. *Recent Trends in Empirical Translation Research*. Joensuu: University of Joensuu, Faculty of Arts. 99-119.
- Jääskeläinen, Riitta. 2009. "Looking for a Working Definition of 'Translation Strategies'." In Mees, Inger M., Fabio Alvares & Susanne Göpferich (eds.). 2009. *Methodology, Technology and Innovation in Translation Process Research*.

- A Tribute to Arnt Lykke Jakobsen. Copenhagen Studies in Language 38. Copenhagen: Samfundslitteratur. 375-387.
- Kaartinen, Marjo. 2004. *Neekerikammo: Kirjoituksia vieraan pelosta*. Turku: Turun yliopisto.
- Killam, G. D. (ed.). 1973. *African Writers on African Writing*. London/Ibadan/Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Killam, Douglas. 2004. *Literature of Africa*. Westport, Connecticut/London: Greenwood Press.
- Kinthead-Weekes, Mark. 1980. "The Interpreters – a Form of Criticism." In Gibbs, James (ed.). 219-238.
- Kontinen, Joel. 1992. *Cultures Far Apart: A Comparison of Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's Novel A Grain of Wheat and its Finnish Translation* Nisun Jyvä. Unpublished Master's thesis: University of Tampere: Department of Translation Studies.
- Kontinen, Joel. 1993. "Selittäisikö vai eikö selittäisi." *Kääntäjä* 1993: 2. 3.
- Koskinen Kaisa. 2007. "Kääntäjän kaksoisiteet – kirjallisuuden kääntäjän rooli ja asema 2000-luvulla." In Riikonen, H. K., Urpo Kovala, Pekka Kujamäki & Outi Paloposki (eds.). 330-337.
- Kouwenberg, Silvia & John Victor Singler (eds). 2008. *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies*. Maiden/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Kouwenberg, Silvia & John Victor Singler. 2008. "Introduction." In Kouwenberg, Silvia & John Victor Singler (eds.). 1-16.
- Kukkamäki, Anna-Liisa. 1948. *Rumpujen Afrikkaa*. Porvoo/Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.
- Lau, Lisa. 2009. "Re-Orientalism: The Perpetuation and Development of Orientalism by Orientals." *Modern Asian Studies* 43: 2. 571-590.
- Lefevere, André & Susan Bassnett. 1990. "Introduction: Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: The 'Cultural Turn' in Translation Studies." In Bassnett, Susan & André Lefevere (eds.). 1990. *Translation, History and Culture*. London/New York: Pinter. 1-13.
- Lehtinen, Päivi. 2004. "Karamellit muuttuivat limeteiksi." *Helsingin Sanomat* 15.10.2004.
- Leppihalme Ritva. 2001. "Translation Strategies for Realia." In Kukkonen, Pirjo, & Ritva Hartama-Heinonen (eds.). 2001. *Mission, Vision, Strategies, and Values. A Celebration of Translator Training and Translation Studies in Kouvola*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. 139-148.
- Leppihalme Ritva. 2011. "Realia." In Gambier, Yves & Luc van Doorslaer (eds.). 2011. *Handbook of Translation Studies Vol. 2*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 126-130.
- Lesonen, Väinö. 1999. *Pole sana Afrika ja muita kertomuksia kehitysavun piiristä*. Helsinki: Like.
- Levy, Jiri. 1989 (1967). "Translation as a Decision Process." In Chesterman, Andrew (ed.). 37-52.
- Lindfors, Anne-Marie. 2001a. "Respect or Ridicule: Translation Strategies and the Images of a Foreign Culture." *Helsinki English Studies 1*. Online article available at <http://blogs.helsinki.fi/hes-eng/volumes/volume-1-special-issue-on-translation-studies>. Accessed on 12 November 2014.
- Lindfors, Anne-Marie. 2001b. *Interpreting Unfamiliar Culture: On the Translation of a Zimbabwean Realistic Novel into Finnish*. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Helsinki: Department of English.
- Lindfors, Bernth (ed.). 1975a. *Critical Perspectives on Amos Tutuola*. Washington,

- D.C.: Three Continents Press.
- Lindfors, Bernth. 1975b. "Early Reviews" In Lindfors, Bernth (ed.). 3.
- Lindfors, Bernth. 1975c. "Amos Tutuola: Debts and Assets." In Lindfors, Bernth (ed.). 275-306.
- Lindholm, Juhani. 2003. "Ukkapukkaa ja kielitiedettä: suomentajan seikkailut autiolla saarella." *Kääntäjä* 2003: 2. 4-5.
- Longman Dictionary of Language and Culture*. 1993 (1992). Harlow: Longman.
- Loponen, Seppo. 1993. "Selityksiä Joel Kontiselle." *Kääntäjä* 1993: 3. 6.
- Lörscher, Wolfgang. 1991. *Translation Performance, Translation Process, and Translation Strategies. A Psycholinguistic Investigation*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Löytty, Olli. 1997. *Valkoinen pimeys: Afrikka kolonialistisessa kirjallisuudessa*. Jyväskylän yliopisto: Nykykulttuurin tutkimusyksikön julkaisuja 55.
- Löytty, Olli. 2006. *Ambomaamme: Suomalaisen lähetyskirjallisuuden me ja muut*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Maduakor, Obi. 1987. *Wole Soyinka: An Introduction to His Writing*. New York/London: Garland Publishing.
- Mafeni, Bernard. 1971. "Nigerian Pidgin." In Spencer, John (ed.). 95-112.
- Mair, Christian. 1992. "The New Englishes and Stylistic Innovation: Ken Saro-Wiwa's *Sozaboy: A Novel in Rotten English*." In Collier, Gordon. 1992. *Us/Them: Translation, Transcription and Identity in Post-Colonial Literary Cultures*. Amsterdam/Atlanta, GA: Rodopi. 277-287.
- Majander, Antti. 2005. "Niille jotka pimeydessä vaeltavat." *Helsingin Sanomat* 18.4.2005. C8.
- Mantere, Oskari & Gunnar Sarva. 1950 (1915). *Keskikoulun yleinen historia I: vanha ja keskiaika*. Porvoo/Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.
- Mazrui, Alamin M. 2004. *English in Africa: After the Cold War*. Clevedon/Buffalo/Toronto/Sydney: Multilingual Matters.
- Mehrez, Samia. 1992. "Translation and the Postcolonial Experience: The Francophone North African Text." In Venuti, Lawrence (ed.). 1992. 120-138.
- Molina, Lucía & Amparo Hurtado Albir. 2002. "Translation Techniques Revisited: A Dynamic and Functionalist Approach." *Meta* 47: 4. 498-512.
- Mudimbe, V. Y. 1988. *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press; London: James Currey.
- Mukherjee, Meenakshi. 2000. *The Perishable Empire: Essays on Indian Writing in English*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 166-185.
- Munday, Jeremy. 2010. "Translation Studies." In Gambier, Yves & Luc van Doorslaer (eds.). 2010. 419-428.
- Munonye, John. 1980 (1966). *The Only Son*. London/Ibadan/Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Nayar, Pramod K. 2010. *Postcolonialism: A Guide for the Perplexed*. London/New York: Continuum.
- Nedergaard-Larsen, Birgit. 1993. "Culture-Bound Problems in Subtitling." *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 1993: 2. 207-242.
- Newmark, Peter. 1982 (1981). *Approaches to Translation*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Nida, Eugene A. 1976. "A Framework for the Analysis and Evaluation of Theories of Translation." In Brislin, Richard W. (ed.). 1976. *Translation: Applications and Research*. New York: Gardner Press. 47-91.
- Niranjana, Tejaswini. 1992. *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press.

- Nord, Christiane. 1997. *Translating as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Nouss, Alexis. 2001. "The Butterfly and the Translator: Reflections on Hybrid Textuality." In Schäffner, Christina & Beverly Adab (eds.). 227-235.
- Nwankwo, Nkem. 1973 (1964) *Danda*. London/Ibadan/Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Nwankwo, Nkem. 1975. *My Mercedes Is Bigger than Yours*. London/Ibadan/Nairobi/Lusaka: Heinemann.
- Nwapa, Flora. 2007 (1998). "Women and Creative Writing in Africa." In Olaniyan, Tejumola & Ato Quayson (eds.). 526-532.
- Nzekwu, Onuora. 1961. *Wand of Noble Wood*. New York: Signet Books.
- Närhi, O. E. 1930. *Afrikan kätköistä*. Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.
- Näsmark, Karl-Erik & Heikki Väänänen. 1959. *Oppikoulun maantieto*. Porvoo/Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.
- Obiechina, Emmanuel. 1973. *An African Popular Literature: A Study of Onitsha Market Pamphlets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oha, Anthony C. 2007. "Beyond the Odds of the Red Hibiscus: A Critical Reading of Chimamanda Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*." *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 1: 9. 199-211.
- Okara, Gabriel. 1973 (1963). "African Speech . . . English Words." In Killam, G. D. (ed.). 137-139.
- Okara, Gabriel. 1975 (1964). *The Voice*. London/Nairobi/Lusaka: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Okri, Ben. 1981. *The Landscapes Within*. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
- Olaniyan, Tejumola & Ato Quayson (eds.). 2007. *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*. Malden, MA (USA)/Oxford/Victoria, Australia: Blackwell Publishing.
- Ortega y Gasset, José. 2000 (1983). "The Misery and Splendor of Translation." In Venuti, Lawrence (ed.). 2000. 49-63.
- Otonkoski, Lauri (ed.). 2004. *Ilon ja kivun kääntöpiiri: Afrikkalaisia novelleja Saharasta etelään*. Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö. 265-275.
- Palmer, Eustace. 1979. *The Growth of the African Novel*. London/Ibadan/Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Paloposki, Outi. 2005. "Käännössuomen synty." In Mauranen, Anna & Jarmo H. Jantunen (eds.). 2005. *Käännössuomeksi: Tutkimuksia suomennosten kielestä*. Tampere: Tampere University Press. 15-31.
- Patterson, Christina. 2006. "Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie: Fortunes of War and Peace." *The Independent* 18 August 2006. Online article available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/features/chimamanda-ngozi-adichie-fortunes-of-war-and-peace-412278.html>. Accessed on 16 February 2010.
- Pedersen, Jan. 2011. *Subtitling Norms for Television. An Exploration Focussing on Extralinguistic Cultural References*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Pekkanen, Hilikka. 2010. *The Duet between the Author and the Translator: An Analysis of Style through Shifts in Literary Translation*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, Department of Modern Languages.
- Peters, Jonathan A. 1993. "English-Language Fiction from West Africa." In Owomoyela, Oyekan (ed.). 1993. *A History of Twentieth-Century African Literatures*. Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press. 9-48.
- Pettersson, Bo. 1999. "The Postcolonial Turn in Literary Translation Studies: Theoretical Frameworks Reviewed." *Æ Canadian Aesthetics Journal/Revue*



- canadienne d'esthétique* 4. Online article available at [http://www.uqtr.ca/AE/vol\\_4/petter.htm](http://www.uqtr.ca/AE/vol_4/petter.htm). Accessed on 23 January 2008.
- Pilke, Eeva. 1994. "Mielikuvia Afrikasta: Mitä peruskoulun oppikirjat kertovat?" *Kulttuurintutkimus* 11: 4. 29-34.
- Pulkkinen, Matti. 1985. *Romaanihenkilön kuolema*. Jyväskylä/Helsinki: Gummerus.
- Pym, Anthony. 1992. *Translation and Text Transfer*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Pym, Anthony. 1998. *Method in Translation History*. Manchester: St Jerome.
- Pym, Anthony. 2001. "Against Praise of Hybridity." In Schäffner, Christina & Beverly Adab (eds.). 195-206.
- Pym, Anthony. 2010. *Exploring Translation Theories*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Rafael, Vincent L. 1993 (1988). *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Rao, Raja. 1977 (1938). *Kanthapura*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Riikonen, H. K., Urpo Kovala, Pekka Kujamäki & Outi Paloposki (eds.). 2007. *Suomennoskirjallisuuden historia 2*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Robinson, Douglas. 1997. *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained*. Manchester: St Jerome.
- Said, Edward W. 1994 (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage.
- Said, Edward W. 1995 (1978). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin Books.
- Saro-Wiwa, Ken. 1992. "The Language of African Literature: A Writer's Testimony." *Research in African Literatures* 23: 1. 153-157.
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich. 2004 (1813). "On the Different Methods of Translating." Translated by Susan Bernofsky. In Venuti, Lawrence (ed.). 2004. *The Translation Studies Reader*. 2nd edition. London/New York: Routledge. 43-63.
- Schäffner, Christina & Beverly Adab (eds.). 2001a. *Hybrid Texts and Translation*. (*Across Languages and Cultures* 2: 2). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Schäffner, Christina & Beverly Adab. 2001b. "The Idea of the Hybrid Text in Translation: Contact as Conflict." In Schäffner, Christina & Beverly Adab (eds.). 167-180.
- Schäffner, Christina & Beverly Adab. 2001c. "The Idea of the Hybrid Text in Translation Revisited." In Schäffner, Christina & Beverly Adab (eds.). 277-302.
- Séguinot, Candace. 1989. "The Translation Process: An Experimental Study". In Séguinot, Candace (ed.). 1989. *The Translation Process*. School of Translation, York University: H.G. Publications. 21-53.
- Selasi, Taiye. 2013. *Ghana Must Go*. London: Penguin Books.
- Selasi, Taiye. 2013. *Ghana ikuisesti*. Finnish translation by Marianna Kurtto. Helsinki: Otava.
- Siitonen, Kirsti & Maisa Martin. 2001. "Mämmilän Mukun suomi – ulkomaalaispuhetta vai pelkkää fiktiota?" In Sulkala, Helena & Leena Nissilä (eds.). *XXVII Kielitieteen päivät Oulussa 19.-20.5.2000*. Oulu: Oulun yliopiston suomen ja saamen kielen ja logopedian laitos. 256-264.
- Siltanen, Reijo. 1963. "Hurja satu Afrikasta." *Kansan Uutiset* 23.11.1963. 7.
- Simon, Sherry. 1997. "Translation, Postcolonialism and Cultural Studies." *Meta* 42: 2. 462-477.
- Simonen, Seppo. 1954. *Mau Mau iskee – Haile Selassie rakentaa*. Helsinki: Pellervo-seura.



- Simpson, Ekundayo. 1979. "Translation from and into Nigerian Languages." *Babel* 25: 2. 75-79.
- Snell-Hornby, Mary. 1995. *Translation Studies. An Integrated Approach*. Revised edition. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Snell-Hornby, Mary. 2001. "The Space 'in Between': What Is a Hybrid Text?" In Schäffner, Christina & Beverly Adab (eds.). 207-216.
- Solanke, Jolayemi. 1982. "Internal African Migrations and the Growth of Cultures." In Olaniyan, Richard. 1982. *African History and Culture*. London: Longman. 13-26.
- Soovik, Ene-Reet. 2006. "How Newness Enters a Country: Reception of the 'Postcolonial' in Estonia." *Interlitteraria* 11. 161-173.
- Soyinka, Wole. 1981. *Aké: The Years of Childhood*. London: Rex Collins.
- Soyinka, Wole. 1983. *Aké, lapsuusvuodet*. Finnish translation by Pentti Isomursu. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Soyinka, Wole. 1989. *Ìsarà: A Voyage Around "Essay"*. New York: Random House.
- Soyinka, Wole. 1992. *Isara: Matka "Esseen" ympäri*. Finnish translation by Seppo Lojonen. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Spencer, John (ed.). 1971. *The English Language in West Africa*. London: Longman.
- Spencer, John. 1971. "West Africa and the English Language." In Spencer, John (ed.). 1-34.
- Stone, Howard. 1953. "Cushioned Loanwords." *Word* 9: 1. 12-15.
- Suomen Kustannusyhdistys 2013. <http://tilastointi.kustantajat.fi/PublicReporting/Yearly.aspx?reportName=FirstEditionsInPrint.txt&language=FIN>  
Accessed on 19 April 2014.
- Tervonen, Taina. 1997. *La traduction et la réception de la littérature africaine en Finlande des années 1930 à 1996*. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Turku: Department of Classical and Romance Languages.
- Tervonen, Taina. 2007. "Afrikkalainen kirjallisuus." In Riikonen, H. K., Urpo Kovala, Pekka Kujamäki & Outi Paloposki (eds.). 232-240.
- Thomas, Dylan. 1975 (1952). "Blithe Spirits." In Lindfors, Bernth (ed.). 7-8.
- Thomason, Sarah G. 2008. "Pidgins/Creoles and Historical Linguistics." In Kouwenberg, Silvia & John Victor Singler (eds.). 242-262.
- Tiffin, Helen. 1987. "Post-Colonial Literatures and Counter-Discourse." *Kunapipi* 9: 3. 17-34.
- Tiffin, Helen. 1991. "Introduction." In Adam, Ian & Helen Tiffin (eds.). 1991. *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-Colonialism and Post-Modernism*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf. vii-xvi.
- Tiittula, Liisa & Pirkko Nuolijärvi. 2013. *Puheen illuusio suomenkielisessä kaunokirjallisuudessa*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Todd, Loreto. 1984. *Modern Englishes: Pidgins and Creoles*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell/André Deutsch.
- Todd, Loreto. 1999. "The Medium for the Message." In Taavitsainen, Irma, Gunnel Melchers & Päivi Pahta (eds.). 1999. *Writing in Nonstandard English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 375-391.
- Torgovnick, Marianna. 1990. *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Toury, Gideon. 1980. *In Search of a Theory of Translation*. Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, Tel Aviv University.
- Toury, Gideon. 1995. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam/

- Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Trivedi, Harish. 2007. "Translating Culture versus Cultural Translation." Online article available at [http://www.uiowa.edu/~iwp/91st/91st\\_Archive/vol4\\_n1/pdfs/trivedi.pdf](http://www.uiowa.edu/~iwp/91st/91st_Archive/vol4_n1/pdfs/trivedi.pdf). 1-8. Accessed on 16 March 2010.
- Tutuola, Amos. 1962. "Kenttäolennot". In Wästberg, Per (ed.). 1962. Finnish translation by Ilkka Ryömä. 239-243.
- Tutuola, Amos. 2004. "Täydellinen herrasmies." Finnish translation by Lauri Otonkoski. In Otonkoski, Lauri (ed.). 265-275.
- Tymoczko, Maria. 1999a. *Translation in a Postcolonial Context*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Tymoczko, Maria. 1999b. "Postcolonial Writing and Literary Translation". In Bassnett, Susan & Harish Trivedi (eds.). 19-40.
- Tymoczko, Maria. 2002. "Connecting the Two Infinite Orders: Research Methods in Translation Studies." In Hermans, Theo (ed.). 2002. *Crosscultural Transgressions. Research Models in Translation Studies II: Historical and Ideological Issues*. Manchester: St. Jerome. 9-25.
- Tymoczko, Maria. 2007. *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators*. Manchester/Kinderhook, NY: St. Jerome.
- Umar, Mohammed. 2005. *Amina*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Umar, Mohammed. 2008. *Amina*. Finnish translation by Tytti Heikkilä. Helsinki: Like.
- Varis, Tuula-Liina. 1997. *Kristalliyö Joensuun kaupungintalon tornissa*. Kunnallisalan kehittämissäätiö. Polemia-sarjan julkaisu nro 23.
- Vartiainen, Pekka. 1990. "Eurooppa Afrikassa." *Kaleva* 8.3.1990.
- Venuti, Lawrence (ed.). 1992. *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*. London/ New York: Routledge.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 1995a. "Translation and the Formation of Cultural Identities." In Schäffner, Christina & Helen Kelly-Holmes (eds.). 1995. *Cultural Functions of Translation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 9-25.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 1995b. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 1998. *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Venuti, Lawrence (ed.). 2000. *The Translation Studies Reader*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 2013. *Translation Changes Everything. Theory and Practice*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Vetenniemä, Erkki. 2004. "Afrikka tanssii ja iskee tarinaa." *Helsingin Sanomat* 21.12.2004. C7.
- Vinay, J.-P. & J. Darbelnet. 1977 (1958). *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais. Méthode de traduction*. Paris: Didier.
- Virtanen, Arto. 2009. "Haaveista suurin on rakkaus." *Parnasso* 2009: 3. 68-69.
- Wali, Obiajunwa. 2007 (1963). "The Dead End of African Literature?" In Olaniyan, Tejumola & Ato Quayson (eds.). 281-284.
- Ward, David. 1989. *Chronicles of Darkness*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Wilkinson, Jane. 1992. *Talking with African Writers: Interviews with African Poets, Playwrights & Novelists*. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.
- Woodham, Kathryn. 2007. *Translating Linguistic Innovation in Francophone African Novels*. Doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham. Online available at <Http://etheses.nottingham.ac.uk/465/1/woodhamPhD.pdf>. Accessed on

29 January 2009.

- Wren, Robert M. 1981 (1980). *Achebe's World: The Historical and Cultural Context of the Novels of Chinua Achebe*. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
- Wästberg, Per (ed.). 1970 (1961). *Afrika berättar*. Bo Cavefors Bokförlag.
- Wästberg, Per (ed.). 1962. *Afrika kertoo: Valikoima nykyafrikkalaista proosaa*. Helsinki: Tammi.
- Young, Peter. 1971. "The Language of West African Literature in English." In Spencer, John (ed.). 165-184.
- Young, Peter. 1973. "Tradition, Language and the Reintegration of Identity in West African Literature in English." In Wright, Edgar (ed.). 1973. *The Critical Evaluation of African Literature*. London/Ibadan/Nairobi: Heinemann. 23-50.
- Zabus, Chantal. 1991. *The African Palimpsest: Indigenization of Language in the West African Europhone Novel*. Amsterdam/Atlanta, GA: Rodopi.
- Zare, Bonnie & Nalimi Iyer. 2009. "Introduction." In Iyer, Nalimi & Bonnie Zare. 2009. *Other Tongues: Rethinking the Language Debates in India*. Amsterdam/New York, NY: Rodopi. ix-xxxvii.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of PWD and their renderings in target text PVJ (1963)

Africanised elements in PWD (pages 7-37)	Renderings for africanised elemets in PVJ (pages 5-38)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>		
juju (n = 6)	loitsu (n = 6)	approximate dictionary equivalent
juju-man (n = 2)	loitsija (n = 2)	approximate dictionary equivalent
”ZURRJIR” which means a son who would change himself into another thing very soon	“ZURRJIR”, joka merkitsee poikaa joka voisi muuttaa itsensä toiseksi hyvin nopeasti	direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning
<i>N of different borrowings (types): 2 Total of borrowings: 9</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 1 Replacement by unmarked renderings: 8</i>	
<b>Translation equivalents</b>		
I thought within myself that old people were saying that the whole people who had died in this world, did not go to heaven directly, but they were living in one place somewhere in this world.	ajattelin sisimmässäni, että vanhat ihmiset sanovat, että kaikki ihmiset, jotka olivat kuolleet tässä maailmassa, eivät menneet suoraan taivaaseen, vaan elivät jossakin tässä maailmassa.	literal translation
I met a small rolling drum	löysin pienen pyöreän rummun	communicative paraphrase
I met a bed	näin vuoteen	communicative paraphrase
When I travelled with him a distance of about twelve miles away to that market, the gentleman left the really road on which we were travelling and branched into an endless forest	Kun kuljin hänen kanssaan suunnilleen kahdentoista mailin matkan torilta pois päin, herrasmies kääntyi siltä todelliselta tieltä, jolla kuljimme, ja poikkesi loputtomaan metsään	literal translation
all the food that he met there	kaiken ruoan minkä se löysi	communicative paraphrase

<i>Total of translation equivalents: 5</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 2 Replacement by unmarked renderings: 3</i>	
<b>Neologisms</b>  palm-wine drinkard (n = 2)  <i>Total of neologisms: 2</i>	palmuviinijuoppo (n = 2)  <i>Replacement by unmarked renderings: 2</i>	approximate dictionary equivalent
<b>Total of africanised elements: 16</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 3 Total of unmarked renderings: 13</b>	

## Appendix 2.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of MOP and their renderings in target text KM (1969)

Africanised elements in MOP (pages 1-32)	Renderings for africanised elemets in KM (pages 15-52)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>  accra cloth  <i>anikilija</i>  Jollof rice (n = 2)  <i>N of different borrowings (types): 3</i> <i>Total of borrowings: 4</i>	accraa*  <i>anikilja</i>  Jollof-riisiä (n = 2)  <i>Retention of markedness: 4</i>	direct transfer  direct transfer (+ deletion of one letter; probably a misprint)  direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
<b>Translation equivalents</b>  ‘Owner of book!’ cried one admirer, assigning in those three brief words the ownership of the white man’s language to the Honourable Minister  it is better the water is spilled than the pot broken. The idea being that a sound pot can always return to the stream.  <i>Total of translation equivalents: 2</i>	“Kirjan omistaja!” huusi eräs ihailija tarkoittaen noilla kahdella sanalla valkoisen miehen kielen hallitsemista ja osoittaen sanansa Kunnian-arvoisalle ministerille  on parempi veden kaatua maahan kuin ruukun särkyä. Ajatus on se, että ehjä ruukku voi aina palata virralle.  <i>Retention of markedness: 2</i>	literal translation  literal translation
<b>Neologisms</b>		
cowrie-shell eye  <i>helment</i>  <i>kontriman</i>	raakunkuorisilmäksi  <i>helmentiksi*</i>  <i>kontrimaninsa*</i>	co-hyponym (marked)  direct transfer  direct transfer

from the noisy highlife band	meluisasta huvittelevasta joukosta	literal translation, change of denotation (unmarked)
a rayon head-tie	raionhuivin	approximate dictionary equivalent
head-ties	hiusnauhoja	approximate dictionary equivalent
<i>Total of neologisms: 6</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 3 Replacement by unmarked renderings: 3</i>	
<b>Pidgin</b>		
You see wetin I de talk. How many minister fit hanswer <i>sir</i> to any Tom, Dick and Harry wey senior them for age? I hask you how many?	Joko te uskoa mitä minä puhua. Kuinka monta ministeri vastata <i>sir</i> äijä kun äijä joka on vanhempi? Minä kysyä vaan kuinka monta?	retention of nonstandard language
Cambridge? Who dash frog coat? You mean it is equal to B.A. today	Cambridge? Kuka tarvitsee pitkää takkia? Tarkoitatte, että se vastaa nykyistä maisterin-tutkintoa	communicative paraphrase (+ change of denotation?)
You see how e de do as if to say money be san-san,' he was saying. ' People wey de jealous the money gorment de pay Minister no sabi say no be him one de chop am. Na so so troway.'	"Te nähdä nyt että hän jaka mani niin kuin se olla pelkkä santa", hän sanoi. "Ihmiset kadehti raha kun hallitus maksa ministerit ja sanoa, ettei hän sitten enä ole sama kun me. Mutta noin hän heittä raha pois."	retention of nonstandard language
'You call this spend? You never see some thing, my brother. I no de keep anini for myself, na so so troway. If some person come to you and say "I wan' make you Minister" make you run like blazes comot. Na true word I tell you. [. . .] Minister de sweet for eye but too much katakata de for inside.	"Nimitätkö sinä tätä kuluttamiseksi. Sinä et tajua erästä asiaa, veli. Minä ei pitä raha itse, heittä se parempi pois. Jos joku kaveri tule sinun luo ja sano: 'Minä tahto tehdä sinu ministeri', sinä otta jalat alle ja painu karku kun raketti. Minä sano tosi sana. [. . .] Ministeri monta kerta päältä kaunis, mutta pelkkä katakata sisältä.	direct transfer ( <i>katakata</i> ), retention of nonstandard language
Big man, big palaver	Iso mies, iso palaveri	direct transfer (change of denotation)
'Me one,' he said, 'I no kuku mind the katakata wey de for inside. Make you put Minister money	"Minu taas", hän sanoi, "minu ei välitä se katakata mitä on sisällä. Panna vaan ministerin rahat mun käte ja	direct transfer ( <i>katakata</i> , <i>wahala</i> ), retention of

for my hand and all the wahala on top. I no mind at all.'	kaikki wahala sen päälle. Ei minu välitä."	nonstandard language
No be so, my frien'. When you done experience rich man's trouble you no fit talk like that again. My people get one proverb: they say that when poor man done see with him own eye how to make big man e go beg make e carry him poverty de go je-je.	"Ei olla niin, ystävä. Kun te olla kokenut rikkaan miehen vaivat, te ei pysty puhumaan enää noin. Minun kansalla olla yksi sananlasku: sanoa, että kun köyhä mies olla omin silmin nähnyt, kuinka yksi suuri mies elä, hän mene ja kanta köyhyys kun je-je."	direct transfer ( <i>je-je</i> ), retention of nonstandard language
Make you no go near am-o. My hand no de for inside.	Ei pidä tehdä mikä liike sinnepäin. Minä tietä se itse inside.	retention of nonstandard language
'The Minister no de introduce-am to anybody. So I think say na im girl-friend, or im cousin.' Then he confided: 'I done lookam, lookam, lookam sotay I tire. I no go tell you lie girls for this una part sabi fine-o.	"Ministeri ei esittä hän kukaan. Minä ei tietä onko hän ministeri tyttöystävä vai serkku." Sitten hän uskoi [sic]: Minä katso ja katso ja katso hän kunnes minä väsy. Minä ei olla nähdä tuollanen tyttö täälläpäin. Voi herrajumala."	retention of nonstandard language
similar pidgin utterances n = 8	similar nonstandard renderings n = 8	retention of nonstandard language n = 8
But the man wey I like him name pass na "Chief the Honorable Alhaji Doctor Mongo Sego, M. P."	Mutta se mies jonka mukaan olisin tahtonut nimeni oli päällikkö, kunnianarvoisa Alhaji tohtori Mongo Sego, parlamentin jäsen	communicative paraphrase
How the go de go?	Miten se mennä?	retention of nonstandard language
Bo, son of man done tire.	Tämä mies olla väsynyt.	retention of nonstandard language
Why na so so girl, girl, girl, girl been full your mouth. Wetin? So person no fit talk any serious talk with you. I never see.	Mitä se tyttö, tyttö, tyttö olla koko päivä sinun huulilla. Mitä se merkitä? Sinun kanssa ei voida puhua mitä vakavasti. Ei minä käsitä.	retention of nonstandard language
Any person wey first mention about girl again for this room make him tongue cut.	Se joka ensimmäisenä mainita tyttö tässä huoneessa, leikattakoon hänen kieli.	retention of nonstandard language



<p>You no hear the news for three o'clock?</p> <p>Government done pass new law say na only two times a day person go de chop now. For morning and for afternoon. Finish.</p> <p>True? Give me tori? Who is she?</p> <p>Look at this small pickin</p>	<p>Sinä ei olla kuullut kello kolmen uutisia?</p> <p>Hallitus olla antanut uusi laki ja määrännyt, että kukaan ei olla sallittu syödä enemmän kuin kaksi kertaa päivässä. Aamulla ja iltapäivällä. Loppu.</p> <p>Ihanko totta? Kuka hän on?</p> <p>Kas tätä pikkuruista</p>	<p>retention of nonstandard language</p> <p>retention of nonstandard language</p> <p>omission</p> <p>approximate dictionary equivalent</p>
<i>Total of pidgin: 26</i>	<i>Total of markedness retained: 22</i> <i>Total of unmarked renderings: 4</i>	
<b>Total of africanised elements: 38</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 31</b> <b>Total of unmarked renderings: 7</b>	

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending

### Appendix 3.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of FRA and their renderings in target text PIR (1971)

Africanised elements in FRA (pages 1-30)	Renderings for africanised elemets in PIR (pages 5-30)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>		
Nananom (n = 2)	Nananom (n = 2)	direct transfer
Ananse	Anansen*	direct transfer
Edin	Edin	direct transfer
<i>tilati</i>	<i>tilati</i>	direct transfer
<i>N of different borrowings (types): 4</i> <i>Total of borrowings: 5</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 5</i>	
<b>Translation equivalents</b>		
I was sharpening words to tell them	teroitin jo sanoja selittääkseni	literal translation
I have heard from the mouth of Efua herself	minä olen kuullut Efuan omasta suusta	literal translation
It is your mind to pour me out a drink in that, Foli?	Minullehan sinä sitä viina-ryyppyä kaadat, eikö niin?	communicative paraphrase
what is an old woman but the pregnancy that will make another ghost?	mitäpä muuta vanha eukko on kuin raskaus joka synnyttää taas uuden hengen?	literal translation
Foli met me with words	Foli kiiruhti selittämään	communicative paraphrase
I had made in my fear a hurried asking for protection on Baako's head	anoin jo hädissäni hänelle suojelusta	communicative paraphrase
<i>Total of translation equivalents: 6</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 3</i> <i>Replacement by unmarked renderings: 3</i>	
<b>Total of africanised elements: 11</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 8</b> <b>Total of unmarked renderings: 3</b>	

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending

## Appendix 4.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of SOA and their renderings in target text LK (1976)

Africanised elements in SOA (pages 2-34)	Renderings for africanised elemets in LK (pages 9-41)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>  Aiye ti wa ró.  <i>N of different borrowings (types): 1</i> <i>Total of borrowings: 1</i>	Aiye ti wa ró.  <i>Retention of markedness: 1</i>	direct transfer
<b>Translation equivalents</b>  Peoples as different in appearance as the cocoa-pod from a yam tuber.  <i>Total of translation equivalents: 1</i>	Kansojen jotka eroavat toisistaan yhtä paljon kuin kaakaopalko jamssinmukulasta.  <i>Retention of markedness: 1</i>	literal translation
<b>Total of africanised elements: 2</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 2</b>	

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending

## Appendix 5.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of WHY and their renderings in target text MM (1979)

Africanised elements in WHY (pages 11-49)	Renderings for africanised elemets in MM (pages 5-36)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>  Ananse design  kiama (n = 2)  <i>N of different borrowings (types): 2</i> <i>Total of borrowings: 3</i>	Ananse-veistos  kiama, kiamalle* (n = 2)  <i>Retention of markedness: 3</i>	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend  direct transfer
<b>Translation equivalents</b>  Their entrails have an iron toughness mine do not have.  Their entrails are hard  The successful livers are those with entrails hard enough to bear the contradiction  <i>Total of translation equivalents: 3</i>	Heissä on teräksistä sisua jota minussa ei ole.  Heissä on sisua  Menestyviä eläjiä ovat ne joiden sielu sietää tämän ristiriidan  <i>Replacement by unmarked renderings: 3</i>	communicative paraphrase  communicative paraphrase  communicative paraphrase
<b>Total of africanised elements: 6</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 3</b> <b>Total of unmarked renderings: 3</b>	

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending

## Appendix 6.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of INT and their renderings in target text TUL (1980)

Africanised elements in INT (pages 7-36)	Renderings for africanised elemets in TUL (pages 7-43)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>		
<i>koboko</i>	<i>kobokoonsa*</i>	direct transfer
huge rolls of soft <i>amala</i>	valtavia pehmeän <i>amalan</i> makkaroita	direct transfer
<i>maraccas</i>	<i>maraccoihin*</i>	direct transfer
<i>apala</i> group, <i>apala</i> band	<i>apala</i> -ryhmä, <i>apala</i> -bändillä	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
<i>oyinbos</i>	<i>oyinboille*</i>	direct transfer
designs of a past fashion rage – Owolebi –	menneen muotivillityksen – Owolebin* – kuviot	direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning
<i>iyun</i>	<i>iyunit*</i>	direct transfer
<i>Omo tani?</i>	<i>Omo tani?</i>	direct transfer
<i>N of different borrowings (types): 8</i> <i>Total of borrowings: 9</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 9</i>	
<b>Translation equivalents</b>		
a proverb: ‘When asked why they wore leather shields over their thoughts, the counsellors replied, “The king says he’s blind”.	sananeläkuun. – Kun neuvonantajilta kysyttiin, miksi he suojasivat ajatuksensa nahkakilvillä, he vastasivat: ”kuningas sanoo olevansa sokea.”	literal translation
Like a river swollen on fresh yam hillocks.	Kuin tuoreille jamssikumpareille tulviva joki.	literal translation
<i>Total of translation equivalents: 2</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 2</i>	
<b>Neologisms</b>		
my/the drink lobes (n = 5)	juomalohkojani, juomalohkoilleni, juomalohkoni (n = 5)	calque

transition from high-life	makeasta elämästä	literal translation, change of denotation
high-life band	elintaso-orkesterin	literal translation, change of denotation
'Why do we employ these too-knows?'	Minkä takia me palkkaamme näitä liikaviisaita?	calque (unmarked)
<i>N of different neologisms (types): 3 Total of neologisms: 8</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 5 Replacement by unmarked renderings: 3</i>	
<b>Total of africanised elements: 19</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 16 Total of unmarked renderings: 3</b>	

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending

## Appendix 7.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of JOM and their renderings in target text NET (1989)

Africanised elements in JOM (pages 7-36)	Renderings for africanised elemets in NET (pages 1-35)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>		
buba blouse	väljän puseron	approximate dictionary equivalent
loose house buba	väljä kotipusero	approximate dictionary equivalent
lappa, lappas (n = 4)	<i>lappa</i> , <i>lappaansa*</i> , <i>lappaa*</i> (n = 4)	direct transfer
<i>Dan duru ba!</i>	<i>Dan duru ba!</i>	direct transfer
her <i>chi</i> , her personal god	<i>chinsä*</i> , oman jumalansa	direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning
<i>chi</i> (n = 12)	<i>chinsä*</i> , <i>chitään*</i> , <i>chin*</i> , <i>chitäsi*</i> , <i>chi</i> , <i>chisi*</i> , <i>chille*</i> (n = 13)	direct transfer, addition of loan word
<i>ona</i> , a 'priceless jewel'	<i>ona</i> , 'mittaamattoman kallis jalokivi'	direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning
<i>otuogwu</i> cloth	<i>otuogwu</i> -liinansa	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
<i>dibia</i> (n = 4)	<i>dibiasi*</i> , <i>dibia</i> , <i>dibialta*</i> (n = 4)	direct transfer
Obi (n = 2)	Obi (n = 2)	direct transfer
<i>iba</i> , the malaria	<i>ibaa*</i> , malaria	direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning
many an Eke night	monta Eken, joka oli markkinapäivä, jälkeistä yötä	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend, added explanation
'Nnu Ego': twenty bags of cowries	'Nnu Ego' eli 'kaksikymmentä säkillistä rahakotiloita'	direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning
<i>N of different borrowings (types): 11</i> <i>Total of borrowings: 31</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 29</i>	

	<i>Addition of markedness: 1</i> <i>(her rendered by chitään)</i> <i>Addition of explanation: 1</i> <i>Replacement by unmarked renderings: 2</i>	
<b>Translation equivalents</b>  Having died a “complete woman”, she was to be buried in her husband’s compound.  <i>Total of translation equivalents: 1</i>	Koska hän oli kuollut “täytenä naisena”, hänet oli haudattava miehensä pihapiiriin.  <i>Retention of markedness: 1</i>	calque
<b>Neologisms</b>  long hair not too tidily plaited and with no head-tie to cover it  <i>Total of neologisms: 1</i>	pitkä, palmikoitu tukka hapsotti, eikä hän ollut peittänyt sitä huivilla  <i>Replacement by unmarked rendering: 1</i>	approximate dictionary equivalent
<b>Total of africanised elements: 33</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 30</b> <b>Addition of markedness: 1</b> <b>Addition of explanation: 1</b> <b>Total of unmarked renderings: 3</b>	

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending



## Appendix 8.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of EFU-S and their renderings in target text EFU-T (1989)

Africanised elements in EFU-S (pages 1-30)	Renderings for africanised elements in EFU-T (pages 5-33)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>		
Nkwo day, Nkwo morning, Nkwo days (n = 10)	Nkwo-päivänä, Nkwo-päivän, Nkwo-päivän aamu/aamuna, Nkwo-päivinä (n = 10)	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
nsala soup	nsala-keiton	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
asa and aja	asaa* ja ajaa*	direct transfer
Ogworo azu ngwere eru ani.	Ogworo azu ngwere eru ani.	direct transfer
iziziani ufie awusa	iziziani ufie awusaa*	direct transfer
iziziani	iziziania*	direct transfer
ganashi (n = 2)	ganashi, ganashin* (n = 2)	direct transfer
dibia (n = 14)	dibia, dibiati*, dibian*, dibialle* (n = 18)	direct transfer, addition of loan word
Gbonu	Gbonu	direct transfer
Eke day, Eke (n = 3)	Eke-päivänä, Eke (n = 3)	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
an instrument used in playing which the people call nchakirikpo.	leikkikaluja joita sanottiin nchakirikpoiksi.	direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning; change of denotation
aka stones	aka-kiviä	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
obi	obiin*	direct transfer
okasi leaves	okasin* lehtiä	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
Afo day (n = 6)	Afo-päivänä (n = 6)	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
uziza (n = 2)	uzizaa*, uziza (n = 2)	direct transfer

ogbono soup	ogbono-keittoa	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
ogbono	ogbono	direct transfer
okra (n =2)	okra (n =2)	direct transfer
ngwo	ngwoa*	direct transfer
nkwu	nkwua*	direct transfer
<i>N of different borrowings (types): 21</i> <i>Total of borrowings: 54</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 54</i> <i>Addition of markedness: 4 (he or him rendered as dibia)</i>	
<b>Translation equivalents</b>		
I was lucky it happened in my face, if not he would have died.	Onneksi se tapahtui minun silmiäni alla, muuten hän olisi kuollut.	communicative paraphrase
Because if an old woman falls twice, we count all she has in her basket.	Sillä jos vanha nainen kaatuu kahdesti, me laskemme kaiken mitä hänellä on korissaan.	literal translation
not a cowrie has been paid on her head	tytöstä ei ole maksettu lanttiakaan myötäjäisiä	communicative paraphrase
second burial (n = 2)	toisia hautajaisia, toiset hautajaiset (n = 2)	literal translation
‘Your daughter’s face is good,’ they told her, meaning that she was popular with people. ‘Your daughter has the face of people,’ others told her, meaning the same thing.	”Sinun tyttäresi kasvot ovat hyvät”, he sanoivat kun tarkoittivat että Efurusta pidettiin. ”Sinun tyttäresi kasvot ovat kansan kasvot”, oli toinen tapa ilmaista sama asia.	literal translation
since we have never seen okasi leaves on her teeth.	emme me ole nähneet okasin lehtiä hänen hampaissaan.	literal translation
A goat sucked your breasts.	Vuohi on imenyt sinua rinnasta.	literal translation
‘So this is your eyes, Efuru.	”Sinäkö siinä, Efuru?	communicative paraphrase
You can’t see, you can’t even hear smell.	Sinä et näe, et kuule etkä haista.	communicative paraphrase
<i>Total of translation equivalents: 10</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 6</i> <i>Replacement by unmarked renderings: 4</i>	

<b>Total of africanised elements: 64</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 60</b> <b>Addition of markedness: 4</b> <b>Total of unmarked renderings: 4</b>	
--	---	--

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending

## Appendix 9.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of DL and their renderings in target text VR (1996)

Africanised elements in DL (pages 5-35)	Renderings for africanised elemets in VR (pages 11-42)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>		
‘Afaricorodo, shine-shine head’	“Afaricorodoksi*, pulipääksi”	direct transfer + communicative paraphrase of (marked) cushioning
agbada (n =5)	agbada, agbadansa*, agbadan*, agbadaan* (n = 5)	direct transfer
juju	juju, taikakalu	direct transfer + added explanation
jujus	taikakaluja	approximate dictionary equivalent
‘Moro-moro’	”Moro moro”	direct transfer
<i>N of different borrowings (types): 4 Total of borrowings: 9</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 8 (7) Addition of explanation: 1 Replacement by unmarked rendering: 1 (2)</i>	
<b>Pidgin</b>		
palaver	waka waka	replacement of pidgin borrowing by another borrowing
‘What kind of a question is dat?’	“Kysyt vielä.	communicative paraphrase
<i>Total of pidgin utterances: 2</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 1 Replacement by unmarked rendering: 1</i>	
<b>Total of africanised elements: 11</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 9 (8) Addition of explanation: 1 Total of unmarked renderings: 2 (3)</b>	

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending

## Appendix 10.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of CHA and their renderings in target text MU (2002)

Africanised elements in CHA (pages 1-30)	Renderings for africanised elemets in MU (pages 5-44)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>		
<i>kenkey</i>	<i>kenkeyyn*</i>	direct transfer
kohl (n = 2)	<i>kuhulilla*</i> , <i>kuhul</i> (n = 2)	direct transfer
kraal	kylän aitoja*	approximate dictionary equivalent
Sanufu antelope dancing headdresses	sanufu-antilooppitanssien päähineitä	direct transfer + translation of head words of loan-blend
Akuaba dolls	akuaba-nukkeja	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
<i>zongo</i> (n = 2)	<i>zongoissa*</i> , <i>zongo</i> (n = 2)	direct transfer
<i>tuo</i> (n = 2)	<i>tuo*</i> , <i>tuo</i> (n = 2)	direct transfer
<i>N of different borrowings (types): 7</i> <i>Total of borrowings: 10</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 9</i> <i>Replacement by unmarked rendering: 1</i>	
<b>Translation equivalents</b>		
his other mothers	Hänen muut äitinsä	literal translation
<i>Total of translation equivalents: 1</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 1</i>	
<b>Neologisms</b>		
she always looks so busily professional . . . and so booklong!’	hän näyttää aina niin kiireisen ammattimaiselta . . . ja niin kuivalta*!’	approximate dictionary equivalent
<i>Total of neologisms: 1</i>	<i>Replacement by unmarked rendering: 1</i>	
<b>Total of africanised elements: 12</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 10</b> <b>Total of unmarked renderings: 2</b>	

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending

## Appendix 11.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of HALF and their renderings in target text PKA (2009)

Africanised elements in HALF (pages 3-32)	Renderings for africanised elemets in PKA (pages 11-51)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>		
fast, <i>osiso-osiso</i>	sukkelaan, <i>osiso-osiso</i>	direct transfer
<i>I kpotago ya</i>	<i>I kpotago ya</i>	direct transfer
<i>Kedu afa gi?</i> What's your name?	<i>Kedu afa gi?</i> [. . .] Mikä sinun nimesi on?	direct transfer
<i>Kedu?</i>	<i>Kedu?</i>	direct transfer
<i>Ngwa</i>	<i>Ngwa</i>	direct transfer
<i>i nugo</i>	<i>i nugo</i>	direct transfer
<i>nee anya</i> (n = 2)	<i>nee anya</i> (n = 2)	direct transfer
pounding <i>akpu</i>	jauhoi pehmitetyistä kassavamukuloista <i>akpua</i> *	direct transfer + added explanation
<i>akpu</i>	<i>akpu</i>	direct transfer
<i>umunna</i>	<i>umunnaan</i> *	direct transfer
<i>ugu</i> leaves	<i>ugu</i> -kurpitsan lehtiä	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend, added explanation
<i>ube</i> tree	<i>ube</i> -puun	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
<i>Nzogbo nzogbu enyimba, enyi . . .</i>	<i>Nzogbo nzogbu enyimba, enyi . . .</i>	direct transfer
<i>okwuma</i>	karitevoita	approximate dictionary equivalent
herb, <i>arigbe</i>	lempiyrttiään <i>arigbea</i> *	direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning
<i>arigbe</i> (n = 9)	<i>arigbe</i> , <i>arigbea</i> *, <i>arigben</i> *, <i>arigbet</i> * (n = 9)	direct transfer
<i>Afa m bu Jomo</i>	<i>Afa m bu Jomo</i>	direct transfer
<i>Nwoke m</i>	<i>Nwoke m</i>	direct transfer
<i>Rapuba</i> , don't worry about that	<i>Rapuba</i> , anna olla	direct transfer

<i>jollof rice</i>	tomaateilla, sipulilla ja paprikalla höystettyä <i>jollof</i> -riisiä	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend, added explanation
<i>nkem</i> , my own	<i>nkemiksi*</i> , omakseen	direct transfer
<i>nkem</i> (n = 2)	<i>nkem</i> (n = 2)	direct transfer
Lotekwa	Lotekwa	direct transfer
Safe journey, <i>ije oma</i>	Turvallista matkaa, <i>ije oma</i>	direct transfer
<i>nwanne m</i>	<i>nwanne m</i>	direct transfer
<i>Chere!</i>	<i>Chere!</i>	direct transfer
<i>Chi m!</i> My God!	<i>Chi m!</i> Voi jumalani!	direct transfer + literal translation of cushioning
<i>Biko</i>	<i>Biko</i>	direct transfer
<i>N of different borrowings (types): 24</i> <i>Total of borrowings: 38</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 37</i> <i>Addition of explanation: 3</i> <i>Replacement by unmarked rendering: 1</i>	
<b>Translation equivalents</b>  woman whose sneeze, whose laugh and talk, would be soft as the under feathers closest to a chicken's skin  <i>Total of translation equivalents: 1</i>	nainen oli hauras ja hiljainen – yksi niistä, joiden puhe, nauru ja jopa aivastukset ovat vaimeita kuin tuulen humina  <i>Replacement by unmarked rendering: 1</i>	literal translation + change of denotation (image)
<b>Neologisms</b>  High Life music  <i>Total of neologisms: 1</i>	länsiafrikkalaisen high life -tanssimusiikin  <i>Retention of markedness: 1</i> <i>Addition of explanation: 1</i>	direct transfer + added explanation
<b>Total of africanised elements: 40</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 38</b> <b>Addition of explanation: 4</b> <b>Total of unmarked renderings: 2</b>	

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending

## Appendix 12.

Africanised elements in first 30 pages of PHIB and their renderings in target text PURP (2010)

Africanised elements in PHIB (pages 3-36)	Renderings for africanised elements in PURP (pages 9-44)	Translation strategy adopted
<b>Borrowings</b>		
<i>Nne, ngwa</i> . Go and change	<i>Nne, ngwa</i> . Mene vaihtamaan vaatteet	direct transfer
<i>biko</i>	<i>biko</i>	direct transfer
atilogu	atilogua*	direct transfer
egusi soup	keltaisen vihanneskeiton	approximate dictionary equivalent
utazi	kitkerien maustelehtien	approximate dictionary equivalent
<i>nne</i> (n = 4)	<i>nne</i> (n = 4)	direct transfer
<i>Ke kwanu?</i> (n = 2)	<i>Ke kwanu?</i> (n = 2)	direct transfer
fufu	maissimuhennosta, fufua*	direct transfer + added explanation
fufu (n = 4)	fufu, fufusta*, fufun* fufupyörykkä (n = 4)	direct transfer
onugbu soup	höystettyä vihanneskeittoa, onugbua*	direct transfer + added explanation
onugbu leaves	karvasveroniapensaans lehtiä	approximate dictionary equivalent
<i>gbo</i> (n = 2)	<i>gbo</i> (n = 2)	direct transfer
<i>Mba</i>	<i>Mba</i>	direct transfer
<i>O zugo</i> . Stop coughing.	<i>O zugo</i> . Koeta olla yskimättä.	direct transfer
ofe nsala (n = 2)	ofe nsalaa* (n = 2)	direct transfer
<i>Kpa</i>	<i>Kpa</i>	direct transfer
our umunna	Meidän isänpuoleisesta suvustamme, <i>umunnasta</i> *	direct transfer + added explanation
<i>ogwu</i>	<i>ogwulla</i> *	direct transfer
<i>moi-moi</i>	papuvanukasta, moi-moita*	direct transfer + added explanation



moi-moi	moi-moi-papupiirailla	direct transfer + added explanation
jollof rice	öljyisessä tomaattikastikkeessa paistetulla jollof-riisillä	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend, added explanation
jollof rice	jollof-riisiä	direct transfer + translation of head word of loan-blend
<i>anara</i>	<i>anara</i>	direct transfer
<i>garri</i>	<i>garria*</i>	direct transfer
<i>Bunie ya enu . . .</i>	<i>Bunie ya enu . . .</i>	direct transfer
<i>biko</i>	<i>biko</i>	direct transfer
azu	kalanpaloja	approximate dictionary equivalent
ngwo-ngwo (n = 2)	tulista vuohenlihakeittoa, mausteista vuohenlihakeittoa (n = 2)	approximate dictionary equivalent
ochiri birds	<i>ochirien*</i>	direct transfer
ochiri	<i>ochirin*</i>	direct transfer
“ <i>Umu m</i> ” [. . .] “My children.”	“ <i>Umu m</i> ” [. . .] “Minun lapseni.”	direct transfer
<i>nno</i>	<i>nno</i>	direct transfer
<i>N of different borrowings (types): 27 Total of borrowings: 42</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 36 Addition of explanation: 6 Replacement by unmarked renderings: 6</i>	
<b>Translation equivalents</b>		
he smiled, his face breaking open like a coconut with the brilliant white meat inside	isän kasvot puhkesivat hymyyn kuin avattu kookospähkinä, jonka sisällä hohtaa valkoinen hedelmämälto	literal translation
ashen, like the color of cracked harmattan soil	harmaankalpea kuin harmattanin korventama halkeillut maa	literal translation + added explanation
<i>Total of translation equivalents: 2</i>	<i>Retention of markedness: 2</i>	
<b>Total of africanised elements: 44</b>	<b>Total of markedness retained: 38</b>	

	<b>Addition of explanation: 6</b> <b>Total of unmarked renderings: 6</b>	
--	---	--

\*Includes obligatory Finnish case ending